Finding the spirituality of Ukrainian students in a post Soviet world : a visual ethnography

Bowers, Sarah

Finding the Spirituality of Ukrainian Students in a post Soviet World:

A Visual Ethnography

Sarah Bowers

School of Social Science and Public Policy
King's College, University of London

Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

2005

Abstract

This dissertation is a qualitative investigation of contemporary spirituality among young people in Ukraine. Method rather than theory drives it, though the thesis rests on the premise that Ukrainian culture is deeply visual in a way that is untypical of Western Europe. After tracing the religious history of Ukraine, and against a backdrop of Eastern Orthodox iconography and Soviet artistic realism, the grounds for assuming Ukraine to be a visual culture are made clear. The thesis adopts an innovative visual ethnographic approach to discover how young people are developing their own spirituality in a post Soviet society that is subject to a shifting influx of foreign images and the free market of beliefs. Although, like much of Eastern Europe, national identity and religiosity have been closely related in Ukraine, many young people have been cut adrift from their religious traditions and, as the field-work data shows, are seeking to regain a sense of identity, and in some cases, transcendence, through their own spiritual quests.

Utilising a non-Confessional definition of spirituality and after preliminary pilot studies, an intensive investigation was conducted over a ten-month period. Beginning in September 2001, and following some initial participant observation and usage of two research surveys, the thesis adopted a narrative case study approach leading to the selection of a group of twenty students in the Ukrainian city of Kiev. These students were interviewed about their use of images in their living space using a visual ethnography. This methodology was augmented by interviews using photo elicitation methods from an archive of fifty-five images selected to represent various aspects of youth culture.

The research findings reveal that all participants displayed images on their wall for personal pleasure and to express their identity. Many used them to express their spirituality in terms of institutional religion and/or a search for meaning, community affiliation, security and transcendence. When traditional religious forms did not satisfy students, they invented their own religious beliefs with accompanying images. The findings indicated an urgent search for a satisfying spirituality in the midst of a fragmented landscape of subcultures frequently expressed through non-traditional religious forms.

Table of Contents

Figures List

Tables

Photographs

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to the King's College London Theological Trust for providing funding toward the tuition fees for two years. This project would not have been possible without the support of Dan and Paulette Bowers, Mark Cocks, Andrew Dunlop, Rosie Farrell, Nellie Loh, Mike and Tracy Pepler, Susannah Pilkington, Clarence Tsang, and Emma and Stephen Young.

I would like to thank Professor Andrew Walker, for taking me as one of his students, offering invaluable insights, patient readings of drafts, and for facing the unknown with me. Dr Pete Ward contributed a valuable critique of the structure of this dissertation and a careful reading, for which I am very grateful. I am thankful for Emma Young's eye for detail, which she carefully and thoroughly applied to proof reading this document. Any remaining errors are mine. I would like to express my gratitude to Barrett Horne, for enthusiasm about the research in its initial stages and for helping with contacts in Ukraine. The field research could not have been done without the help of Christina Malysheva, who provided not only precise translations and clarifications, but also helped me begin to meet students. I am so grateful for the hours she spent translating transcripts and accompanying me on many of my meetings with students. I would like to thank Steve Webber of CBN-CIS for advice, technical support and the use of a high quality digital camera. I am grateful to Elisabeth Bowers for taking photographs that I needed after I left Kiev.

During the ten month-long fieldwork in Kiev, I lived in a flat with two Ukrainian women, Katya Sopova Anderson and Natalka Bilanyuk. I am grateful to them for sharing their faith, their food, their home, and their friends with me. They did not hold back any aspect of their lives from me – their hospitality knew no bounds, for which I am indebted. I would like to thank Sergiy Konoplitsky, for endless hours of explanations of his beloved Orthodox faith and for showing me the spiritual side of Kiev. I am grateful to Dimitros Bondarenko, for welcoming me into his church, taking me on pilgrimage and questioning my assumptions about Orthodoxy.

Finally, I am indebted to the students who participated in the case study, for taking time out of their studies to talk to me, drink tea with me, show me their city and answer all my questions.

Introduction

Ukraine is a former Soviet nation with a religious heritage that spans the centuries, whose identity crisis is exemplified in its name, which roughly translated means 'The Borderland.'[1] Ruled for centuries by Moscow, first by the tsar and later by the Soviet Premier, its once proud Orthodox Church was crippled by an inner malaise of KGB devising and now lies broken into pieces because of nationalist factions.[2] As the Soviet Union disintegrated, many Euro-American mission organisations rushed in to fill what they called the 'spiritual vacuum.'[3] Regrettably, although well intentioned, this work was often done without an understanding of the spiritual and religious context of the region.[4] This mission, which viewed Ukraine as a churchless wasteland, was highly offensive to the Orthodox Church leaders, who were struggling to rebuild their damaged church and could not match the financial resources of the Protestant missionaries.[5]

This dissertation aims to be a contribution toward an understanding of the spiritual situation in Eastern Europe, with an approach that seeks to dig beneath the surface of traditional, nationalised religious beliefs to uncover the existing spirituality of post-Soviet young people. It is now almost fifteen years since Ukraine became a nation, independent from the Soviet Union. With freedom has come a return to Orthodox traditions, but freedom has also brought consumerism, individualism, and a multiplicity of religious ideas and forms of spirituality.[6]

This project was conducted within the Centre for the Study of Theology, Religion and Culture at King's College in London. Although an investigation of spirituality could be approached theologically, in this case, an anthropological perspective was preferable. In fact, Christian theologians have always sought to understand human existence, as seen in

---

[1] Anna Reid 1997 *Borderland: A Journey Through the History of Ukraine*. Guernsey: Guernsey Press Co Ltd. p. 1. See also Catherine Wanner 1998 *Burden of Dreams: History and Identity in Post-Soviet Ukraine*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.

[2] Andrew Wilson 2000 *The Ukrainians: Unexpected Nation*. London: Yale University Press. p. 234.

[3] Michael Bourdeaux 1995 *The Politics of Religion in Russia and the New States of Euroasia*. London: M.E.Sharpe. p. 117.

[4] Mark Elliott and Anita Deyneka 1998 'Protestant Missionaries in the Former Soviet Union', *Emory International Law Review* 12(Winter): 361-412.

[5] Kallistos Ware 1993 *The Orthodox Church*. London: Penguin. p. 161.

[6] Anatoly Kolodniy 2000 'Traditional Faiths in Ukraine and Missionary Activity', *Religion in Eastern Europe* XX(1). http://www.georgefox.edu/academics/undergrad/departments/soc-swk/ree/kolodniy_tfi_01.html viewed on 16/4/2004.

the Biblical texts, extended in Augustine's description of fallen humanity, and later Thomas Aquinas' writing on the nature of man. Thus, an anthropological perspective is not a new phenomenon for theological reflection. However, since the Enlightenment, theologians have sometimes felt threatened by anthropology, which they fear may attempt to reduce Christian beliefs to the same level of other religions and societies. This threat of 'cultural relativism' has sometimes caused antipathy between the two fields, and certainly suspicion among Christian theologians. According to Mark Taylor of Princeton Theological Seminary and author of *Religious Dimensions in Cultural Anthropology*, "theological 'anthropology' has always been a broad, changing – some would say untidy – realm in Christianity's doctrinal tradition."[7] However, he goes on to assert that theological engagement with anthropology could be highly productive.

Furthermore, Charles Kraft, professor of Anthropology and African Studies at Fuller Theological Seminary, writes that anthropological insights help theologians analyse and discover answers to the problems of producing theology that engages with culture.[8] He cites three areas in which anthropological insights can support theology which are of particular relevance to this dissertation. First, he explains, "any discipline that seeks to deal with human beings needs the sharpest insights possible into the nature and workings of that within which humans 'live and move and have their being' – culture."[9] According to Kraft, this anthropological perspective will help theologians develop insights that will be applicable to contemporary peoples within their cultural groups. Second, Kraft argues that theologians could learn from anthropologists how to discover the relationships between the surface levels of culture and the levels of meanings that exist simultaneously beneath the surface of culture. Although he admits that theologians often correctly see that "most of the meanings expressed via cultural forms have their roots in common human need and experience," an anthropological perspective will also acknowledge that the deep level meanings of cultural forms differs widely from culture to culture.[10] Third, Kraft explains that issues of contextualisation are important for theologians, especially in cases where "a given theological system is passed from one culture to another or from one

---

[7] Mark Kline Taylor 1985 'What Has Anthropology to Do with Theology?' *Theology Today* 41(4): 379-382. p. 380.
[8] Charles Kraft 1979 *Christianity in Culture: A Study in Dynamic Biblical Theologizing in Cross-cultural Perspective*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books.
[9] Charles Kraft 1985 'Cultural Anthropology: Its Meaning for Christian Theology', *Theology Today* 41(4): 390-430. p. 394.
[10] Ibid. p. 397.

generation to another."[11] He notes that the meaning to the new group will be different and may seem to apply to different issues, or perhaps not be relevant at all. In light of Taylor's notion of theological anthropology and Kraft's insights into the use of anthropological tools to inform theological thinking, the research for this dissertation was qualitative in nature, followed a case study model, and employed an ethnographic perspective.

Essentially, this research sought to gather information about how young people in Ukraine are searching for spiritual answers. How does the country's Orthodox religious tradition inform contemporary young people's search for transcendence? How has seventy years of enforced atheism affected the notion of transcendence? Is Ukraine irreligious? Is it pluralist? How are young people finding ultimate meaning? Of what issues do Orthodox and Protestant groups need to be aware as they seek to meet young people's spiritual needs?

Additionally, this research sought to discover whether young people's preference for displaying pop images on their walls could be linked to the central role that images play in traditional Orthodox worship. How do images function in Slavic culture? What is the history of the use of the image in this region? What is the nature of contemporary visual culture? How do young people use images? How does a young person's choice of images for their living space reveal their conception of their own identity? What is the spiritual nature of their interaction with images?

Although contemporary Ukrainian culture may appear to share some of the forms of Western European culture, this should not be mistaken as a sign that Ukrainian people have acquired the same post-modern[12], individualist, consumerist worldview. The Slavic world did not experience modernity, the confidence in human reason to find truth, the same way as North America and Western Europe.[13] Theologian Thomas Oden argues that although Communism was a classic modernist myth, its death marked the end of one strand of modernism. It appears that in the Soviet Union modernism existed only on the

---

[11] Ibid. p. 398.

[12] Thomas Oden helpfully distinguishes between secular philosophical and linguistic 'post-modern' (which is ultra modern scepticism and deconstruction) and theological 'post-modern' (which is the experience which follows the death of modernity), in Thomas Oden 1992 *Two Worlds: Notes on the Death of Modernity in America and Russia.* Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press. The term is used in the latter sense here.

[13] Peter Lowman 2000 'Perceptions of a Great Country', *East-West Church and Ministry Report* 8(2).

surface, with the state becoming the authority for truth, not the individual as in the West. Science and technology were used to build the Soviet Union, but did not become the basis of meaning for most people. Oden points out that the post-Soviet way of thinking is also differentiated from American and European ideologies because it did not include Protestant assumptions that have saturated the Western worldview.[14] On the other hand, he observes that both sides are entering a post-modern return to spirituality and a belief in the supernatural.[15] Oden may be correct, but it is also possible that post-Soviet youth culture is experiencing a return to pre-modernism, or perhaps simply an increased awareness of the spiritual currents that have always been present in their culture. What is certain is that the resurgence of spirituality in the former Soviet Union is rooted in its own cultural heritage.

This dissertation discovered a rich search for transcendence among young people. Where others have seen emptiness or a vacuum, this research discovered a variety of spiritualities. Although historically national identity and religiosity have been closely related in Ukraine, many young people expressed that traditional religious forms did not satisfy their spiritual quest for meaning. The ethnographic approach uncovered how young people are developing their own spirituality in the context of a shifting influx of foreign images and the free market of beliefs. A typology drawn from the data itself showed that students had a range of levels of interest in spirituality, evidenced by a drive to regain a sense of identity, and in some cases, transcendence, through their own spiritual quests.

These self-created belief systems form a fragmented cultural landscape, creating a society characterised by diverse subcultures. Underpinned by the heritage of the Orthodox sense of 'right belief', subcultures operate like religions, yet are separated from each other by a lack of tolerance of a diversity of religious beliefs. The research findings showed that Ukraine is not yet religiously pluralist, although it might be possible for religious pluralism to be attained within a symbolic Orthodox national identity. The findings indicated an ongoing search for a satisfying spirituality in the midst of the multiplicity of subcultures, frequently expressed through non-traditional religious forms. The research results showed that traditional religious groups would benefit from an open dialogue with

---

[14] Oden *Two Worlds: Notes on the Death of Modernity in America and Russia*. p. 26.
[15] Ibid. p. 156.

young people and the shifting spiritualities of youth cultures could profit from the stability that organised religion can offer. The young people expressed the desire for a supportive community where they can express their experiences of God and spirituality, which, for religious groups, would requires that they be open to young people and avoid creating barriers in the form of complicated rituals and rules.

Given that the spirituality of Slavic culture has a long history of visual expressions, through icons and frescoes on church walls, and in light of the Soviet attempt to establish faith in the future Soviet Golden Republic through images, such as monuments, posters, and a control of the visual arts, it will be argued that visual culture is tied to spirituality. This observation led to the decision to conduct an investigation into whether the current quest for spirituality might be discernable in the images that students use in their living space. Ethnographer Paul Willis explored the symbolic creativity of young people in Wolverhampton by studying their use of images in their personal space.[16] He discovered that the images valued by young people form an anthropological or sociological perspective on their developing worldview and identity. He writes, "most young people's lives are not involved in the arts and yet are actually full of expressions, signs and symbols through which individuals and groups seek creatively to establish their presence, identity and meaning. Young people are all the time expressing or attempting to express something about their actual or potential cultural significance."[17] He discovered that the young people's reading of symbols revealed their internal, imaginative and spiritual life and was linked with their self-understanding.[18]

Based on the assumption that Ukrainian culture is image driven, it was possible to tap into this phenomenon and develop an empirical model using images alongside text. The visual ethnographic approach revealed the connection between spirituality and images in the Ukrainian context. This is a significant methodological finding for the developing field of visual ethnography and particularly photo elicitation. The images used in the research drew forth reactions and impressions that previously existed subconsciously, enabling the respondents to express, sometimes for the first time, how they sought meaning and

---

[16] Paul Willis 1990 *Common Culture: Symbolic Work at Play in the Everyday Cultures of the Young*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
[17] Ibid. p. 1.
[18] Ibid. p. 24.

transcendence. Additionally, the images bridged cultural and language barriers, creating a completely new dynamic for the research interview.

Thus, using a unique visual ethnographic approach, images provided the window through which to catch a glimpse of how young people are developing their own spirituality. The research findings revealed that participants displayed images on their wall to express their identity and many used them to express their spirituality in terms of institutional religion and/or a search for meaning, community affiliation, security and transcendence. The research tested to discover the function of images placed in student livings space, and found that the young people interacted with the images and used them to express their belief systems. The images and interviews revealed that students tended to form their personalised spirituality based on an eclectic mixture of religious and esoteric ideas and symbols.

The first chapter of this dissertation is a review of literature relevant to this thesis, beginning with a definition of 'spirituality'. Since the spirituality of young people in post Soviet Ukraine is the focus of the empirical research for this dissertation, it is shown how this definition is not only conceptual but also operational. This is followed by a description of the development of visual studies, the types of research that are considered to be visual ethnography and the scholars who have influenced the field. The second chapter gives a narrative description of the research process and includes a description of the methodology used to delve beneath the surface of the social situation to find the answers to the research questions. Although quantitative research can be useful for establishing a broad picture of a social context, in this case creative qualitative methods were needed to discover the spirituality of young people. The thesis adopted a narrative case study approach that made use of a research methodology perhaps best called a 'visual ethnography'. Furthermore, as the research methods for the fieldwork took shape, it became evident that it was necessary to first unravel the complicated, yet fascinating visual background of the region. Hence, Chapter 3 is devoted to a description of the visual history of the region, with particular attention to developments within the religious sphere and the spiritual function of images.

Chapter 4 delineates the findings that emerged from the data. Then, in light of this, the spiritual function of images in students' living space is interpreted through a description

of the spiritual needs articulated by the students. This is followed by a discussion of the different levels of spirituality expressed by the students and their attitudes toward religion. The research results are analysed in Chapter 5, with particular attention to the current state of Orthodox belief and the growth of Protestantism in Ukraine. The second half of this chapter broadens the discussion to describe how the current spiritual climate is situated within the post-Soviet plurality of beliefs in Ukraine. The concluding chapter offers a summary and final analysis of the research findings.

Chapter 1

Literature Review: Spirituality and Visual Ethnography

In a dissertation investigating the spirituality of Ukrainian young people, it would be expected that a literature review would cover the existing research in this area and demonstrate how the present work contributes to the existing body of knowledge. Although some research has been done to investigate the religious beliefs of Ukrainians, very little has been done specifically about the younger generation, and none of the research studies spirituality as distinct from religious affiliation.[19] Therefore, this literature review focuses on spirituality, how this concept is employed within this dissertation, and visual ethnography, an emerging field of study that warrants a description of its development.

Spirituality

It is necessary at this early stage to define the term 'spirituality' since the spirituality of young people in post Soviet Ukraine is the focus of this dissertation. Furthermore, this definition needs to not only be conceptual but also operational – i.e. be methodologically capable of being empirically applied to the field of study. It is outside the bounds of this dissertation to provide a review of all that has been written about spirituality. Instead, this section surveys the relevant literature that led to the definition of spirituality used for the field research.

Spirituality is a complicated concept with variegated meanings and associations attributed to it.[20] For example, it can be used as a term to imply a reality separate from the material realm,[21] but even more commonly, the term is used to indicate the experience of one's religion.[22] In some Christian circles spirituality refers to living 'in the Spirit', an option that is considered only available to members of the Church because it is believed that they

---

[19] See Maija Turunen 2005 *Faith in the Heart of Russia: The Religiosity of Post-Soviet University Students*. Helsinki: Kikimora Publications. This book is typical of the literature available, which focuses mainly on Russia and on traditional religious forms and identifications.

[20] David Hay and Kate Hunt discovered complex and varied connotations for the word 'spiritual' in their research for the 'Adult Spirituality Project' at the University of Nottingham. David Hay and Kate Hunt 2000 'Understanding the Spirituality of People who don't go to Church: A Report on the Findings of the Adult Spirituality Project': University of Nottingham. See section 5.3. Downloaded on 18/01/05 from http://www.ctbi.org.uk/downloads/ccom/documents/0008%20David%20Hay%20Final%20Report.doc.

[21] 'Spirituality' in 1971 *Webster's Third New International Dictionary*, Springfield: Merriam Company. p. 2199.

[22] E. A. Livingstone (ed) 2000 'Spirituality' *Oxford Concise Dictionary of the Christian Church*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. p. 545.

exclusively have God's Spirit within them.[23] Although in my personal life as a Christian I try to take a Biblical perspective[24] on the nature of the spiritual realm, for the purpose of this dissertation the operational definition of the spiritual aspect of human existence can not be a Confessional one as empirical field work entails, as far as possible, a value free or neutral methodology.

In order to find an appropriate definition of spirituality for an empirical investigation a number of ideas were assimilated. To begin with, some insights from C. S. Lewis proved helpful. He was able, both in his work and personal life, to hold in tension the particular and perfect revelation of God in Christ with a general theory of revelation. His childhood love of ancient pagan myths was given intellectual substantiation in adulthood by classifying them as God's impressions or reflections of the divine presence in the world before the time of Christ and outside the Church.[25] He wrote in a letter to Arthur Greeves in 1931 stating that, "the Pagan stories are God expressing Himself through the minds of poets, using such images as He found there, while Christianity is God expressing Himself through what we call 'real things.'"[26] Thus, for Lewis, pagan myths are essentially divine truths refracted through human experience, as he further explains here: "my present view, would be that just as, on the factual side, a long preparation culminates in God's becoming incarnate as Man, so, on the documentary side, the truth first appears in mythical form and then by a long process of condensing or focusing finally becomes incarnate as History. This involves the belief that Myth in general is . . . at its best, a real though unfocused gleam of divine truth falling on human imagination."[27]

This view of the 'unfocused gleam' is consonant with medieval philosophy, which displayed a natural theology in which it was commonly believed that all people could experience an 'illumination' from God. For example, Augustine believed that in order to

---

[23] C. J. H. Hingley 1995 'Spirituality', in Atkinson and Field (eds) *New Dictionary of Christian Ethics and Pastoral Theology*, Leicester: InterVarsity Press, pp. 807-809.

[24] The Bible does not offer a detailed explanation of the spiritual world, but a Biblical perspective on human spirituality would include the notion that people were created in God's image, Genesis 1:27; and given the 'breath' of God, Genesis 2:7. Additionally, the spirit is part of the human body - a mystery like many other works of God, Ecclesiastes 11:5. Furthermore, the human response to God comes via the spirit, see for example Psalm 51:12. This view is supported in the New Testament's description of the human capacity to respond positively to God is through the spirit, Mark 14:38, and God put the spirit in humans, James 4:5.

[25] Paul Fiddes 1990 'C. S. Lewis the Myth-Maker', in Walker and Patrick (eds) *A Christian For All Seasons*, London: Hodder & Stoughton, pp. 132-155. p. 135.

[26] Walter Hooper (ed) 1972 *The Letters of C. S. Lewis to Arthur Greeves*, New York: Macmillan. p. 427.

[27] C. S. Lewis 1947 *Miracles*. London: Centenary Press. p. 161. In fact, Lewis believed that these myths allowed him glimpses of ultimate truth that later opened his mind to an encounter with God. Writing in his autobiography of his conversion experience, "sometimes I can almost think that I was sent back to the false gods there to acquire some capacity for worship against the day when the true God should recall me to Himself." C. S. Lewis 1972 *Surprised by Joy*. London: Fontana Books. p. 65.

comprehend ultimate truths, a person should be enlightened by an external source, namely, God. "The mind needs to be enlightened by light from outside itself, so that I can participate in truth, because it is not itself the nature of truth. You will light my lamp, Lord."[28] Illumination was understood differently from revelation in the sense that it did not involve God providing soteriological information about ultimate truths, but rather the lighting-up of a person's mind so that he or she could be enabled to experience the divine.[29]

So operationally, following Lewis' notion of an 'unfocused divine gleam of truth' this dissertation looks for something more akin to 'illuminations' of, or intimations into, transcendence, rather than what is usually termed by Christians 'divine revelation' which refers specifically to the revelation of God through the Incarnation of the Divine Son as Jesus Christ of Nazareth. Spirituality, however, not only entails the possibility for people to be 'illumined' by God, but also may very well be a primal human need for transcendence.[30] This coheres with a naturalist theology[31], which observes that there is within a human being an emptiness that can only be filled by God. Huston Smith, a Methodist writer in the field of religious studies, has referred to this phenomenon as a 'God-shaped vacuum':

> "Seen through the eyes of faith, religion's future is secure. As long as there are human beings, there will be religion for the sufficient reason that the self is a theomorphic creature – one whose morphe (form) is theos – God encased within it. Having been created in the imago Dei, the image of God, all human beings have a God-shaped vacuum built into their hearts. Since nature abhors a vacuum, people keep trying to fill the one inside them. Searching for an image of the divine that will fit, they paw over various options as if they were pieces of a jigsaw puzzle, matching them successively to the gaping hole at the puzzle's centre. . . They keep doing this until the right 'piece' is found. When it slips into place, life's jigsaw puzzle is solved."[32]

It is this search for the impression of the divine that will fill the hole in the centre of a person's heart with which this thesis is concerned. This admittedly is based on an *a priori*

---

[28] Augustine 1992 *Confessions*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. IV.xv.25. See also V.vi.10, X.ii.2, and X.xl.65.

[29] This notion of divine illumination was prominent throughout most of the Middle Ages, promoted particularly by Bonaventure, Matthew of Aquasparta and John Pecham. Robert Pasnau Fall 2002 'Divine Illumination', in Zalta (ed) *The Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy*. http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2002/entries/illumination/ (viewed 19 Oct. 04).

[30] See 'Spirit' pp. 485-486 and 'Transcendence' p. 509 in Karl Rahner and Herbert Vorgrimler 1983 *Concise Theological Dictionary*. 2nd Edition, London: Burns & Oates.

[31] See the words of St Augustine at the beginning of his *Confessions*, ". . . You have made us for yourself, and our heart is restless until it rests in you." Augustine *Confessions*. I.i.1.

[32] Huston Smith 2001 *Why Religion Matters: The Fate of the Human Spirit in an Age of Disbelief*. San Francisco: Harper-Collins. p. 148.

assumption that spirituality is an innate propensity within people to search for something greater than themselves – a view held in common with C. S. Lewis and the Romantic tradition. According to Samuel Coleridge, for example, this desire for transcendence is often expressed through the religious imagination. For Coleridge, the imagination is an act of faith in the human capacity to find truth and eventually discover a divine empowering force. In his *Biographia Literaria*, he writes, "the primary imagination I hold to be the living Power and prime Agent of all human Perception, and as a repetition in the finite mind of the eternal act of creation in the infinite I AM."[33] In Coleridge's view, the imagination demonstrates the infinite by means of the finite through symbols, which are "characterised . . . above all by the translucence of the eternal through and in the temporal. It always partakes of the reality which it renders intelligible; and while it enunciates the whole, abides itself as a living part in the Unity, of which it is the representative."[34] For Coleridge, then, religious imagination is expressed through the creation of symbols that point to a reality outside themselves. Thus, the creation of symbols in art, poetry and music are keys for humans to discover and express transcendence.

The universality of spirituality is not an uncontested notion among some theologians. For example, George Lindbeck argues that viewing the human search for meaning as religious is an 'experiential-expressive' approach to religion, and warns that this perspective can lead to a relativism that causes interreligious and ecumenical dialogue to be fruitless.[35] Instead, he believes that religion should be seen from a 'cultural-linguistic' standpoint, which enables the distinctive characteristics of each religion to be maintained while also engaging with others. By this, he means that religion is no longer regarded as a set of beliefs or an experience, but it is instead like a language, with a worldview and a value system.[36] Also concerned with interreligious dialogue, Christoph Schwöbel advises the Christian theologian not base his or her understanding of other religions on 'some supposedly universal anthropological constant such as an alleged "religious *a priori*"' but instead should see other religions in terms of the universality of God's presence.[37] He argues that the Christian theologian should not interpret other religions on Christian terms or impose a Christian framework on other faiths. Instead, Schwöbel writes that the

---

[33] Samuel T. Coleridge 1997 *Biographia Literaria*. London: Everyman. p. 175.
[34] Samuel Coleridge 1953 'The Statesman's Manual', in White (ed) *Political Tracts of Wordsworth, Coleridge and Shelley*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-53. p. 25.
[35] George Lindbeck 1984 *The Nature of Doctrine*. London: SPCK. p. 23.
[36] Ibid. p. 17.
[37] Christoph Schwöbel 1990 'Particularity, Universality, and the Religions: Toward a Christian Theology of Religions', in D'Costa (ed) *Christian Uniqueness Reconsidered*, New York: Orbis Books, pp. 30-46.

experiences and practices of other religions should be taken at face value and seen in their own right, while still viewed within the framework of the universality of God's work in all aspects of human life.[38]

Talal Asad is an anthropologist who questions whether religion is a universal concept. "My argument is that there cannot be a universal definition of religion, not only because its constituent elements and relationships are historically specific, but because that definition is itself the historical product of discursive processes."[39] He critiques the notion of religion as a construct of Western modernity that serves to legitimate certain historical perspectives.[40] He argues that people in any society frame their understanding of their situation in terms of the larger system of meaning that surrounds them. Thus, Westerners live in a capitalist framework, forcing them to find meaning within that worldview. Jeremy Carrette and Richard King are specifically concerned with the commercialisation of religion that has created what they refer to as 'the popular notion of spirituality'.[41] They argue that the ambiguity of the word 'spirituality' allows it to be abused, particularly by corporations to sell spirituality. "The term spirituality has now become the 'brand-label' for the search for meaning, values, transcendence, hope and connectedness in 'advanced capitalist' societies. The notion operates by compartmentalising questions of human values into an identifiable market space."[42] Carrette and King conclude that religion has been repackaged for consumption through the notion of spirituality and corporations have used the vague idea of spirituality to support their interests and working practices.[43]

Nevertheless, despite these ecumenically motivated concerns and observations that consumer enterprises are financially benefiting from spirituality in capitalist societies, a case can be made for the universality of a human quest for meaning. William James, who in his seminal book, *The Varieties of Religious Experience, A Study in Human Nature,* sees spirituality as not only a quest or the finding of eternal clues, but also a question of experience: 'spiritual' experience, he argues, is an encounter with a source of mystery that transforms people as they come into contact with it.[44] He asserts, "we can experience

---

[38] Ibid., p. 39.
[39] Talal Asad 1993 *Genealogies of Religion.* London: Johns Hopkins University Press. p. 29.
[40] Ibid. p. 24.
[41] Jeremy Carrette and Richard King 2005 *Selling Spirituality: The silent takeover of religion.* London: Routledge. p. x.
[42] Ibid. p. 32.
[43] Ibid. p. 171.
[44] William James 1928 *The Varieties of Religious Experience: A Study in Human Nature.* London: Green and Co. p. 519.

union with something larger than ourselves and in that union find our greatest peace."[45] James believes, again in the footsteps of Augustine, that this non-institutional, non-traditional, and highly personal 'religious experience' is a common human instinct and essentially is a deep-rooted and profound hunger for God. He writes, "by being religious we establish ourselves in possession of ultimate reality at the only points at which reality is given us to guard."[46] What he refers to as 'personal religion' he believes to be the primary and primordial spiritual experience, leaving ecclesiastical religious forms as secondary in nature. In addition, based on his observations of human nature, James argues that spiritual urges are expressed in whatever symbols are available to people, whether traditional religious forms or those created by people in response to a personal experience of spirituality.

German Theologian Rudolf Otto shares both continuity and discontinuity with James's view. In his book *The Idea of the Holy*, he praises James for his recognition of the common human experience of an ultimate reality outside the self, but points out that James is constrained by his empiricist standpoint from engaging with the actual spiritual reality that exists.[47] He agrees with James that people have a predisposition for receptiveness to the spiritual, but argues that not all people openly listen to and respond to God.[48] Hence, Otto extends James' rational analysis of personal religious experiences and describes a broad range of feelings that result from encounters with the transcendent. He writes, "it is through this positive feeling-content that the concepts of the 'transcendent' and 'supernatural' become forthwith designations for a unique 'wholly other' reality and quality, something of whose special character we can *feel*, without being able to give it clear conceptual expression."[49] Furthermore, Otto argues that "any form of the numinous consciousness may be stirred by means of feeling analogous to it of a 'natural' kind, and then itself pass over into these, or, more properly, be replaced by them."[50] Thus, according to Otto, a sense of transcendence aroused by great art or an overwhelming emotion of love can awaken spiritual feelings, which have the possibility of becoming an experience of the divine.[51]

---

[45] Ibid. p. 525.
[46] Ibid. p. 500.
[47] Rudolf Otto 1950 *The Idea of the Holy*, Translated by Harvey. 2nd Edition, London: Oxford University Press. p. 10.
[48] Ibid. p. 177.
[49] Otto's own italics here. Ibid. p. 30.
[50] Otto uses the term 'numinous' to mean the aspect of God that transcends human comprehension. Ibid. p. 63.
[51] Ibid. p. xxi.

This assertion is supported by the research that biologist Sir Alister Hardy conducted in the 1960s. Through his phenomenological study of human 'religious experience', his findings revealed that many people come into contact with a transcendent force that is active in the natural world.[52] Based at the Religious Experience Research Unit at Manchester College in Oxford, Hardy collaborated with David Hay, lecturer in Biology in the Department of Education at the University of Nottingham. Hardy and his colleagues collected over four thousand first-hand accounts of descriptions of people's personal experiences of a "benevolent non-physical power which appeared to be partly or wholly beyond, and far greater than, the individual self."[53] At the end of his research, Hardy concluded:

> "It seems to me that the main characteristics of man's religious and spiritual experiences are shown in his feelings for a transcendental reality which frequently manifest themselves in early childhood; a feeling that 'something other' than the self can actually be sensed; a desire to personalise this presence into a deity and to have a private I-Thou relationship with it, communicating through prayer."[54]

Hardy observes that the denial of this side of human relationships could be devastating to a scientifically minded society, particularly for young people. "How much may the dissatisfaction and unrest of the younger generation be attributed to the disturbing effect of being persuaded that science has dismissed the spiritual side of the universe as a superstition to be grown out of, when they have an intuition, perhaps ill-defined, that tells them otherwise?"[55]

Hardy's 'disturbing effect' may be evident when spirituality takes non-religious forms, particularly during a time of social change. David Tacey, in his recent book, *The Spirituality Revolution*, explains that in stable societies, spirituality is the personal experience of the supernatural as revealed in religious services and liturgies. Most people in these communities subscribe to the same beliefs that make up the narrative behind the 'why' of social life.[56] However, Tacey argues that in socially unstable times, the traditional symbolic forms can seem constraining and anachronistic, and the human

---

[52] Sir Alister Hardy 1975 *The Biology of God: A Scientist's Study of Man the Religious Animal*. London: Butler & Tanner Ltd. p. 15 "I am convinced . . . that on the one hand the experience of what may be called God is a very real and important one to a large number of individual members of our species, in both primitive and sophisticated societies . . ."

[53] Sir Alister Hardy 1979 *The Spiritual Nature of Man: A Study of Contemporary Religious Experience*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. p. 1.

[54] Ibid. p. 131.

[55] Hardy *The Biology of God: A Scientist's Study of Man the Religious Animal*. p. 13.

[56] David Tacey 2003 *The Spirituality Revolution: The Emergence of Contemporary Spirituality*. London: HarperCollins. p. 32.

search for meaning begins to struggle to break free from religion. He asserts that in Great Britain, Australia and North America, religious thinking is in an unstable period "in which spirit frequently reverts to informal or non-religious expressions, and it is therefore hard to see, discern or measure."[57] Tacey extends his observations about the changing nature of expressions of spirituality to the former Soviet Union: "Post-Marxist Eastern Europe exemplifies the condition of the present era. After the collapse of utopian politics and the pseudo-religion of state-sponsored atheism, what comes next?"[58]

Marxist atheism may not be so pseudo-religious if Peter Berger is right: he observes that humans have a natural desire to make sense of their existence, and he calls these social constructions of meaning 'legitimations'.[59] He argues that religion functions as a legitimation for enabling people to make sense of meaninglessness in the physical realm and serves to locate their existence within the cosmic reality.[60] These religious legitimations operate, in Berger's terms, as a 'sacred canopy', protecting people from the fear of the unknown and unexplainable.[61] In this respect, Marxism operated like a religion because it provided meaning for social reality and created secular heroes such as Lenin for people to revere. Berger observes that as society changes and people no longer hold to one united religious legitimation, people's anxiety increases because personal and cosmic events can no longer be explained by a shared meaning system. In Berger's estimation, the plurality of beliefs and the ensuing instability that follow this plurality means that people are more likely to develop personal religion rather than institutional religions in order to bring meaning to life, but these private beliefs will also be isolating.[62]

The path we have traced from Lewis to Berger allows us to see how the concept of spirituality was developed for the purpose of this dissertation. This development forms the basis of what might be called a 'spiritual anthropology': such an anthropology holds that the propensity within human beings to search for something outside themselves is innate and universal. This quest for transcendence, as intimated above, is not necessarily going to be a Christian spirituality but may be a raw primal spirituality – a deeply personal urge to find ultimate meaning. This then forms the basis of this operational

---

[57] Ibid. p. 32.
[58] Ibid. p. 127.
[59] Peter Berger 1969 *The Social Reality of Religion*. London: Faber and Faber. p. 29.
[60] Ibid. p. 35.
[61] *The Sacred Canopy* was the title of *The Social Reality of Religion* when originally published in the USA in 1967.
[62] P. Berger, B. Berger, and H. Kellner 1974 *The Homeless Mind: Modernization and Consciousness*. Harmondsworth: Penguin. p. 75-77.

definition of spirituality – a basis drawn from an eclectic mix of Romantic ideas (Lewis and Coleridge) and empirical and phenomenological views (James, Otto and Hardy). Spirituality, I contend, operates beneath traditional and exterior religious forms and, as will be shown from the fieldwork, is expressed through the symbols available in the social context in which young people find themselves.

To operationalise spirituality in this way is to define what the visual ethnography looked for in the data. Of course, at times is it is clear that what is being observed is overt spirituality because the students explicitly speak about God and religion. At other times, however, spirituality is expressed when students describe how they create their own 'personal religion', to use Berger's term. Paraphrasing and adapting Hans Kung's fivefold notion of what searching for God entails[63] it is possible to say that the spirituality of young people is identified by analysing what the data revealed of the students' search for identity, security, community affiliation, ultimate meaning, and experiences of transcendence.

In addition to the above definition of spirituality, the word 'sacred', which literally means "that which is set apart", is used within this dissertation to describe a time, place or event that is set apart and its significance marked by specific symbolic means. According to Veikko Anttonen, a Dutch ethnographer, whether people are religious or not, they have the freedom to create their own 'sacred' moments within their cosmology. He asserts that an ethnographic approach to the sacred allows the researcher to observe the "actions, events and intentions of cultural agents in specific contexts as they make distinctions between spaces, mark them for specific uses, create visible and invisible boundaries, and establish cultural conventions of behaviours towards those boundaries."[64]

Unless otherwise noted, the term 'culture' is used in a social scientific sense, indicating the social forms and practices of a people group, and not in reference to high culture or the arts.

Visual Ethnography

Visual research is an emerging field and its use as a research method is unusual, particularly in theology. This section describes the development of visual studies, the

---

[63] Hans Kung 1990 'Rediscovering God', in Hillyer (ed) *On the Threshold of the Third Millennium, Special Issue of Concilium*, London: SCM Press, pp. 86-102.
[64] Veikko Anttonen 1996 'Rethinking the Sacred', in Yonan (ed) *The Sacred and Its Scholars: Comparative Methodologies for the Study of Primary Religious Data*, Leiden, pp. 36-64.

types of research that are considered to be visual ethnography and the scholars who have influenced the field. This is followed by a discussion of the current state of the field of visual research. Then, after locating the research of this dissertation within the field, there follows an explanation of how visual ethnographic methods are particularly suited to the focus of this dissertation, with examples of other research projects that have successfully used visual methods. This section concludes with a short exploration of the links between the visual and spiritual that have already been discovered by other researchers.

A Visual Method for a Visual World

Visual research methods use images of society and images produced by society to better understand the social situation. Since the 1860s, anthropologists have used photography to provide visual information about their subjects. According to Elizabeth Edwards, an expert on anthropological photography at the University of Oxford, historically, photography was considered to be a recording device for surface data, as opposed to in-depth data, which needed to be unearthed by other methods.[65] Eventually, visual data was also used to critique culture. For example, in the 1920s photographers El Lissitzky and Alexander Rodchenko sought to inform understanding of social revolution in the early days of the Soviet Union using a photomontage approach. In another example, Dziga Vertov, a Russian filmmaker, used a montage affect to question the status quo and call people to revolution in his films, 'Man with a Movie Camera' and 'Three Songs to Lenin.'[66]

One of the first visual ethnographies was carried out by anthropologists Gregory Bateson and Margaret Mead in the early 1940s.[67] For their study of Balinese culture they took more than 25,000 photographs during their two years of field research. They used 759 of these photographs in their book, which was mainly concerned with social organisation. The photographs worked in conjunction with the accompanying written text. This project inspired other anthropologists to use photographs to study culture as well as using them as a visual record of their field experience.

---

[65] Elizabeth Edwards (ed) 1992 *Anthropology and Photography 1860-1920*, New Haven: Yale University Press. p. 4.

[66] Douglas Harper 1998 'An Argument for Visual Sociology', in Prosser (ed) *Image-based Research*, London: Falmer Press, pp. 24-41. p. 33. After the formation of the Soviet Union, the totalitarian government would only allow certain types of art, which later became known as 'social realism'. These visual texts aimed to inspire loyalty rather than critical reflection.

[67] Gregory Bateson and Margaret Mead 1942 *Balinese Character: A Photographic Analysis*. New York: New York Academy of Sciences.

The empirical tradition within image-based research was formulated in the 1960s and 70s by anthropologists such as Sol Worth, John Collier Jr. and Jay Ruby.[68] In 1974, sociologist Howard Becker recognised that both photography and sociology were begun around the same time and that both explored society.[69] But Becker was concerned that photography had come to be viewed like an art form, and sociology was treated like a science. He called for them to be reunited and to work together to uncover different aspects of social life. Some sociologists took up the challenge, and visual research methods were increasingly used in various sociological studies.

In the past few years, an increasing number of social researchers in the UK have recognised that the visual is a growth point in the social sciences and cultural studies. A conference series called 'Visual Evidence' was organised by the Pavis Centre for Social and Cultural Research of the Open University and aimed to draw together researchers from a wide range of fields: anthropology, sociology, cultural studies, media studies, visual communication, photography, film, history and sociology of art as well as photojournalism and documentary film. The series of three conferences, beginning in December 2000 and running until October 2001, sought to provide a forum for researchers to share their developments in visual methods within qualitative research. Through involvement at two of these conferences, it was possible to see first hand how conference participants discovered that there is a convergence and broad overlap in the use of visual evidence among these various fields. The issues discussed at the conferences were useful in developing and refining the image-based methods used for this research. By the end of the series, the convenors questioned whether visual evidence itself might be a new field.

A new journal, *Visual Communication*, was launched in February 2002. This publication seeks to draw together contributors from all over the world and from various disciplines. Two of the key participants of the Visual Evidence conference series, Marcus Banks, an anthropologist at the University of Oxford, and Elizabeth Chaplin, an anthropologist from the Open University, serve on the advisory board. Furthermore, *Visual Studies*, a journal published on behalf of the International Visual Sociology Association, was also launched in 2002. Jon Prosser, a lecturer in the department of Education at the University of Leeds,

---

[68] Jon Prosser and Dona Schwartz 1998 'Photographs within the Sociological Research Process', in Prosser (ed) *Image-based Research*, London: Falmer Press, pp. 115-130. p. 116.
[69] Howard S. Becker 1974 'Photography and Sociology', *Studies in the Anthropology of Visual Communication* 1(1): 3-26.

and one of the organisers of the Visual Evidence conference series, is the editor of this journal. The emergence of these two journals demonstrates that the field of visual research is evolving and researchers are still seeking to define and refine their methods.

Visual anthropology and visual sociology overlap in many areas and often are indistinguishable from each other. However, broadly speaking, visual anthropologists have a longer tradition of working with the visual and have developed the methodology, beginning with photographs as visual field notes and leading to collaborative research. This dissertation draws heavily on the methodology developed by anthropologist Marcus Banks, a leading writer and researcher in the field of visual evidence and visual empirical research.[70] The project is also influenced by the work of Douglas Harper, a sociologist, who describes visual sociology as a 'two-headed beast',[71] involving both empirical and symbolic visual studies. He argues that sociologists can use empirical methods to record the visual aspects of their subject in conjunction with other methods, but he extends visual sociology to symbolic visual studies, involving the analysis of visual texts. This dissertation used Harper's photo elicitation methods to gather and analyse the function of the images generated by the fieldwork.[72] Furthermore, the stance of empathetic understanding gives this research a sociological bent.

Jon Prosser seeks to bring together a synthesis of sociological and anthropological approaches, because he believes that visual evidence leads to knowledge of the human condition.[73] Thus, this dissertation's research methodology follows Prosser's example in combining both anthropology and sociology in the use of visual evidence. He writes that researchers using images usually work within the framework of qualitative, case study approach, characterised by research that is "holistic, contextually well defined, field-oriented, design is emergent and progressively focused, naturalistic and non-interventionist, interpretative, working hypotheses emerge from the data, interpretations are validated by triangulation, multiple realities or single view."[74]

Visual Nature of Culture

One of the most interesting and complicated aspects of visual research is that the process of 'seeing' and interpreting what is seen is bound up in the culture of the person who

---

[70] Marcus Banks 2001 *Visual methods in social research*. London: SAGE.
[71] Harper 'An Argument for Visual Sociology', p. 24.
[72] Douglas Harper 2002 'Talking about pictures: a case for photo elicitation', *Visual Studies* 17(1): 13-26.
[73] Jon Prosser 1998 *Image-based research : a sourcebook for qualitative researchers*. London ; Bristol, PA: Falmer Press.
[74] Ibid. p. 117.

'sees.' Marcus Banks argues that 'like all sensory experience, the interpretation of sight is culturally and historically specific.'[75] He observes that in 'Euro-American' society people treat images casually, as part of the every day consumer and social culture. He explains that this is due to the dominance of sight as a sensory experience in Europe. People often say 'see here' or 'I see what you mean' to communicate understanding. But in other cultures, visual sensory experience may have a different significance. For example, in Banks' research in India, he observed the Hindu practice of '*darshan*' – 'seeing the divine' or the 'mutual exchange of looks'. In this context, seeing is an active gaze, an interaction with the supernatural. Eye-to-eye contact between temple idols or images of the deity and the worshiper is an integral part of religious practice. In Ukraine the eyes of those depicted in religious icons usually look out at the viewer, inviting eye-to-eye contact. Furthermore, there exists in Ukrainian culture the concept of the 'evil eye' – the idea that a look can somehow curse or harm someone else. People would sometimes wear a safety pin on their clothing to deflect the evil eye.[76]

Verbal and textual communication is still important and highly influential in many societies, but different cultures use the visual differently - compartmentalising and reserving images for specific situations or particular contexts.[77] Just as it is necessary to learn how to 'read' text, it is also necessary to learn to 'read' images used in different cultural settings than one's own. Therefore, since visual forms are embedded in social practice, and since seeing is culturally specific, it is important that visual researchers collaborate with their research subjects, 'the cultural Other' in Harper's words, [78] in order to work toward true understanding. Thus, research images should not only be collected, but the owners or originators of the images should narrate their meaning and context. This approach is subjective and narrative, involving co-operation between the researcher and subject. In 1972, anthropologists Sol Worth and John Adair applied this concept to their research by teaching Navajo Indians to use filmmaking techniques to create a film to visually depict their own culture.[79] Although this method was not without problems – filmmaking was an alien way of representing culture among the tribe – the research was innovative and their ideas have since been widely imitated by other researchers.

---

[75] Banks *Visual methods in social research*. p. 7.
[76] According to Banks, this is also the purpose of the reflective mirror-type material that is worn by women in India.
[77] Banks *Visual methods in social research*. p. 8.
[78] Harper 'An Argument for Visual Sociology', p. 34.
[79] Sol Worth and John Adair 1972 *Through Navajo Eyes: Explorations in Film Communication and Anthropology*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Another example of the collaborative element in visual research is found in Eleanor Nesbitt's study of the religious experience of 8 to 13-year-olds in Coventry between 1986 and 1996.[80] Nesbitt, a lecturer in Religion and Education at the University of Warwick, combined participant observation (in schools and worship) with casual conversations and informal interviews. She interviewed the children in their homes in order to provide a more relaxed setting. She brought photographs of places of worship to the interviews and used them as visual stimuli for the children's responses. She also used images that she found on the walls of the child's home as part of her research. In all, she found that visual images were invaluable in the course of the interviews and worked well with her qualitative approach.[81] She found that during the interviews the images enabled the children to freely talk about their religious experiences.

Visual researchers are very sensitive to the criticism that taking photographs is a means of exerting power over their research subjects. Contemporary visual research aims to avoid this problem by continually thinking of new ways of working together with those researched. Collaboration gives those researched a measure of control over the images produced and can take place on different levels: agreeing to meet and talk, allowing photographs to be taken, and even taking the photographs themselves.[82] Banks writes, "where social knowledge is seen as contingent and context-dependent…then the collaboration of the research subjects is not merely required but is a recognition that they are active creators and shapers of the research process."[83] Banks urges researchers to report their findings in a way that allows the narrative of those researched to be seen and heard through a combination of images and text.

Visual Methods for a Visual Project

Visual methods are uniquely appropriate for this project for several reasons, explained below:

First, some proponents of visual research argue that historical and philosophical shifts in perception mean that visual research is particularly suited to contemporary studies of culture, explaining that a visual sensitivity has replaced a literary one.[84] Post-modern

---

[80] Eleanor Nesbitt 2000 'Researching 8 to 13-year-olds' perspectives on their experience of religion', in Lewis (ed) *Researching Children's Perspectives*, Buckingham: Open University Press, pp. 135-149.
[81] Ibid., p. 144.
[82] Banks *Visual methods in social research.* p. 119.
[83] Ibid. p. 45.
[84] Scott Lash 1988 'Discourse or figure? Postmodernism as a 'regime of signification", *Theory, Culture and Society* 5: 311-336.

theorists argue that society has shifted from a textual culture to a complex, multi-faceted culture full of unmediated images. Jean Baudrillard exposes the 'simulacrum' as the loss of real meaning behind images and events of contemporary culture.[85] However, although this may be true for individualistic, consumer-driven Euro-American cultures, there is no evidence that the visual was ever superseded by text in the Slavic world. Perhaps academia may have been driven by the written word, but spiritual expressions and popular culture have always been dominated by the image. The prevalence of images in religious practice, the use of the image in occult rituals, the popularity of pictures of pop stars and the centrality of pictures in elections demonstrate that the visual is still a very powerful method of communication in Ukraine. Hence, visual methods are particularly suited for a study of post-Soviet, Ukrainian society and spirituality. The foundation for this argument will be expounded in Chapter 3, which traces the visual and religious history of Ukraine.

Second, spirituality, as it is operationally defined within this dissertation, involves abstract concepts that may be difficult to express in words. Michael Emmison and Philip Smith, in their book, *Researching the Visual*, strongly assert that visual data can be used as an indicator with which to explore abstract theoretical ideas.[86] Furthermore, Harper writes, "images allow us to make statements which cannot be made by words, and the world we see is saturated with sociological meaning. Thus it does not seem peculiar to suggest that images enlarge our consciousness and the possibilities for our sociology."[87] Jon Prosser notes that over the last 30 years, qualitative researchers have increasingly recognised the ability of images to enhance understanding of 'the human condition.' "Taken cumulatively images are signifiers of a culture; taken individually they are artefacts that provide us with very particular information about our existence."[88] Talking about spirituality in terms of a personal search to find ultimate meaning can be difficult, but these ideas can be expressed through interacting with images.

Third, the collaborative approach that most contemporary visual methods employ suits the empathetic stance of this dissertation. As stated above, collaborative research gives the informants a voice in the study in order to shed light on the cultural situation. Furthermore, within theology, particularly missiology, there exists the principle of an

---

[85] Jean Badrillard 2001 'Symbolic Exchange and Death', in Poster (ed) *Jean Baudrillard, Selected Writings*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp. 122-151.
[86] Michael Emmison and Philip Smith 2000 *Researching the Visual*. London: Sage. p. xii.
[87] Harper 'An Argument for Visual Sociology', p. 38.
[88] Prosser *Image-based research : a sourcebook for qualitative researchers*. p. 1.

'incarnational' approach to the cultural 'other'. What precisely this approach entails is a subject of debate, but the core idea is identification with, and empathetic understanding of the other culture, mirroring Christ's identification with humanity in his incarnation.[89] This dissertation sought to develop an incarnational, empathetic understanding by participating in student life and collaborating with students in the research.

Fourth, understanding culture involves observation, and, as Jay Ruby, a visual anthropologist argues, ethnography should include the visual.

> "When engaged in ethnography, the researcher must convert the complex experience of fieldwork to words in a notebook and then transform those words into other words shifted through analytic methods and theories. This logo-centric approach to understanding denies much of the multi-sensory experience of trying to know another culture. The promise of visual anthropology is that it might provide an alternative way of perceiving culture – perception constructed through the lens."[90]

Furthemore, since the visual does not merely illustrate information, but also provides information, this dissertation makes use of some of the tools that visual methods use to analyse visual data.

Visual researchers occasionally find it useful to employ semiotic tools for visual analysis.[91] For example, Theo Van Leeuwen writes that based on the semiotic theory of Roland Barthes, the visual researcher is able to analyse images in terms of what is represented and the hidden meanings of what is pictured.[92] However, this approach to the analysis of visual data focuses on the image itself. Semiotic analysis is not used to examine images within this dissertation because this research did not seek to discover all of the possible readings of a symbol, but how it is actually read. The interest here lies not in the creator's intended meaning for the image, but the interpretation of the image by the students. The focus of this dissertation is the spirituality of students as it emerges through the images, and does not rely on a comparison of students' reactions to the same image.

---

[89] See Harriet Hill 1993 'Lifting the Fog on Incarnational Ministry', *Evangelical Missions Quarterly* 29(3): 262-269.
[90] Jay Ruby 1996 'Visual Anthropology', in Levinson (ed) *Encyclopedia of Cultural Anthropology*, Vol. 4, New York: Henary Holt & Co., pp. 1345-51. p. 1351.
[91] Stuart Hall demonstrated that a semiotic paradigm could be used for analysis within a social framework. See Stuart Hall 'Encoding, Decoding' in Simon During (ed) 2000 *The Cultural Studies Reader*, 2nd Edition, London: Routledge. pp. 507-517.
[92] Theo Van Leeuwen 'Semiotics and Iconography' in Theo Van Leeuwen and Carey Jewitt (eds) 2001 *Handbook of Visual Analysis*, London ; Thousand Oaks [Calif.]: SAGE. pp. 92-118.

Spirituality of Images

It is argued here that visual research methods are particularly suited to a study of 'raw' spirituality. Camille Paglia, a post-feminist and polyglot, believes that in "religions, ritual and art began as one, and a religious or metaphysical element is still present in art." For Paglia, the image is always sacred.[93] She asserts that Judaism was essentially a religion of the ear, and Islam and Protestantism later followed the same propensity for the ear. However, she believes that when Christianity needed to reach the pagan masses, a 'religion of the eye' was developed. This visual spirituality continued in the Eastern Orthodox tradition, but the West shifted away from icons toward a more text based religiosity. According to Paglia, the 'Western aggressive eye' shifted medieval Europe towards pagan decadence. She argues that contemporary scholarship has overestimated the centrality of language and failed to see the power of the 'sign language of images.'[94] Although it is arguable whether all images are sacred, as Paglia believes; yet this dissertation will demonstrate that within the Ukrainian context there is still what she calls the 'religion of the eye' that uniquely informs people's interaction with and interpretation of the visual.

Additionally, there is a growing interest in spirituality amongst visual ethnographers. For example, Richard Chalfen, a visual anthropologist, discovered in his research of images used in people's living space in Japan that a study of the practice of placing photographs in the home offered information about the values and belief systems of the society.[95] Similarly, according to historian David Morgan, the meaning of an image is not merely the act of putting it on the wall, but also exists in its display and ongoing presence in the owner's life.[96] Morgan investigated the role of mass-produced religious images in the United States in the social construction of reality by those who display them.[97] He believes that people use images to keep the chaotic universe at bay and to support and strengthen their existing worldview.[98]

In another book, *The Visual Culture of American Religions*, Morgan and Sally Promey argue that religion and the visual frequently come together in society, and thus advocate

---

[93] Camille Paglia 1990 *Sexual Personae*. London: Yale University Press. p. 29.
[94] Ibid. p. 34.
[95] Richard Chalfen 2003 'Celebrating Life after Death: the appearance of snapshots in Japanese pet gravesites', *Visual Studies* 18(2): 144-156. p. 144.
[96] David Morgan 1998 *Visual Piety: A History and Theory of Popular Religious Images*. London: University of California Press. p. 178.
[97] Ibid.
[98] Ibid. p. 10.

for more studies of the visual nature of spirituality. "The inclination to minimize the significance of religious visual culture has led to a kind of historical myopia in both art history and religious history."[99] They believe that this research should not be limited to high, cultured art, but instead should "consider how all sorts of people live with all sorts of pictures in the public and private spaces of their lives."[100] Thus, for them, visual culture includes many visual forms, including folk and official art, architecture, illustration, mass-produced images and objects of everyday use. Although Morgan and Promey were writing about American culture, their arguments are just as applicable, if not more so, to Slavic culture, with its Orthodox heritage of icons and symbols in religious practice.

Furthermore, although previously mentioned, the Hindu practice of *darshan* (the act of seeing) requires a fuller description here. Diana Eck is a professor of Religion and Indian Studies and the director of the Pluralism Project at Harvard University. In her book *Darshan: Seeing the Divine Image in India* she explains that the creation of images is the "earliest form of human symbolization," pre-dating text. People wrote in images – the literal meaning of 'iconography'. Hence, she points out that researchers must learn to read images within the social and cultural context of the image.[101] Through her research, Eck observed that India is a visual culture, one in which *darshan* has a prominent role in a person's interaction with the sacred. "The central act of Hindu worship, from the point of view of the lay person, is to stand in the presence of the deity and to behold the image with one's own eyes, to see and be seen by the deity."[102] She observed that the eyes are a prominent feature of Hindu images of a god, often appearing unblinking and gazing at the viewer. She found that images of deities are visible almost everywhere in India – not only in many shrines and temples, but also in homes, taxis, buses, shops, stalls, and on the walls of public buildings.[103]

Eck's research studied not only the sacred images themselves, but also how they were used within worship. Similarly, this dissertation employs a functional approach to the study of the spiritual use of images in Ukraine. Thus, when looking at icons, Soviet images or visual forms of popular culture, it is the way that these images function in daily

---

[99] David Morgan and Sally Promey 2001 *The Visual Culture of American Religions*. London: University of California Press. p. xi.
[100] Ibid. p. xiii.
[101] Diana Eck 1998 *Darshan: Seeing the Divine Image in India*. 3rd Edition, New York: Columbia University Press. p. 12.
[102] Ibid. p. 3.
[103] Ibid. p. 16.

life that is of relevance for this dissertation. Ken Parry, a lecturer in Theological Studies at the University of Manchester, explains that the utilitarian value of icons is more important than their aesthetic value, arguing that beauty is a function of icons, but not their aim.[104] Therefore, he writes that one cannot fully comprehend icons by reading about them or viewing them in an art gallery - instead they should be seen in their original context and fulfilling their intended spiritual function. "They are visual and spiritual points of reference, important adjuncts to the Orthodox faith and practice."[105] Additionally, Edward Farrugia, professor of Dogma and Eastern Patrology at the Pontifical Institute of Oriental Studies in Rome, writes that an icon is "a spiritual object before it can ever claim to be an aesthetic object."[106]

One aspect of the field research involved the observation of the function of icons, in the church, in people's homes, as well as in public places. Brother Aidan, a contemporary Orthodox iconographer and sculptor, writes, "the Orthodox icon's usual home is the liturgy, the church, the icon corner at home, above the city gate, to be prayed in front of, kissed, handled."[107] He explains that icons "are quite literally venerated to bits! They are kissed, processed around, exposed to the smoke and heat of lamps and to incense, anointed, splashed, taken on pilgrimage – the list is long."[108] In contemporary Ukraine, icons remain a part of community and church life, despite seventy years of Soviet rule, during which time it was illegal to sell or print them.[109] In Kiev the churches are being repaired and again filled with icons. Furthermore, icons are now mass printed and sold in kiosks all over the city. Bus and taxi drivers keep them in view within their vehicles, and many people carry them in their pockets. It is not unusual to see old women wearing three icons on their chest as they beg for money in exchange for God's blessing.

Still evident in the visual landscape of Kiev, Soviet monuments were built with a clear intention. The Soviets sought to use images to establish their own worldview within their new socialist society. Undoubtedly they were aware of the power of the visual, hence the sizeable programme of monument building and control of the arts in the new Soviet Republic. Barrett Horne, for many years a leader of a Christian student organisation in Ukraine, explained in an interview:

---

[104] Ken Parry 1991 'The Role of the Icon in the Eastern Orthodox Tradition', *Sophia* 1: 12-18. p. 15.
[105] Ibid. p. 12.
[106] Edward G. Farrugia 1996 *Tradition in Transition: The Vitality of the Christian East*. Rome: St Thomas Christian Fellowship. p. 11.
[107] Brother Aidan 1991 'Icon-Making as a Model of Orthodox Cosmology', *Sophia* 1: 19-30. p. 19.
[108] Ibid. p. 23.
[109] However, monks were allowed to continue to make them for use in the monasteries during the time of the Soviet Union.

> "But the fact is that the Slavic approach to life in a very deep way is a mystical approach. It's different. It's true that in order to understand the culture you need to understand the iconography. I would argue that probably understanding Orthodoxy is essential to understanding the culture. Even Soviet communism was shaped by Orthodox spirituality and mysticism. The mystical symbols of Orthodoxy have their counterparts in Soviet communism. They had their own Soviet iconography of heroes and saints and shrines and religious awe. And Stalin was a seminary student after all."[110]

It is argued within this dissertation that is possible for a secular image to function like a religious icon when it represents something greater than the person depicted. Lenin's programme of monument building and control of the arts was an attempt to inspire the masses to work toward a great Communist future for the world. He knew that for many people icons had represented the transcendent world, offering a window on hope for life after death. He aimed to replace icons with these monuments in order to inspire the people to participate in something greater than themselves through working together to build the Socialist Utopia. Hence, this dissertation seeks to uncover whether there is a spiritual function of Soviet monuments in contemporary Ukraine.

Art historian Albert Boime calls specifically for the study of national monuments, comparing their sociological importance to the central role that icons play in the Orthodox Church.[111] He believes that national images can affect people powerfully and can demand 'unswerving devotion.' He even goes so far as to state that the patriotic emotions evoked by national monuments are feelings of 'quasi-religious adoration.'[112] However, Boime notes that the significance of national monuments is limited to the cultural context in which they are placed. As crisis and social change occur in a society, and the social identity of the people is re-negotiated, the social meaning of a monument is redefined. Although Boime's research focused on national monuments in the United States, his findings shed light on the significance of monuments both during the Soviet years and in contemporary Ukraine.

A full discussion of the spiritual function of icons and Soviet images in Ukraine is set within the visual historical context in Chapter 3. The results of the investigation of the function of images found in students' living space is described in Chapter 4.

---

[110] Interview with Barrett Horne, IFES Eurasia regional co-ordinator, 12-02-01, Oxford, England.
[111] Albert Boime 1998 *The Unveiling of the National Icons*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p. 1.
[112] Ibid. p. 6.

This section concludes with an explanation of the rationale for the inclusion of photographs within the text of the dissertation. Photographs are visual field notes and operate within the dissertation as segments of raw data, in the same manner as direct quotations from interview transcripts. Although this data has already been framed, it adds an element of reflexivity to the dissertation, because the reader is invited to agree or challenge the analysis of this data. Michael Ball, a visual ethnographer, argues for the inclusion of photographs in the text of the ethnographic report: "The reader is no longer a passenger in an analytical vehicle fashioned by the author, and in one sense, they have also 'been there' and viewed the materials."[113] Despite the unorthodox nature of images within a PhD thesis, it is argued that the pictures make a valuable contribution to the overall message of the thesis and contribute positively toward understanding the concepts unearthed in the research. Jon Prosser and Dona Schwartz sum up this argument best:

> "As image-based researchers, we have discovered the valuable contribution photographs can make, both in the practice and presentation of our work. Like our field notes and other forms of empirical data, photographs may not provide us with unbiased, objective documentation of the social and material world, but they can show characteristic attributes of people, objects, and events that often elude even the most skilled wordsmiths… And we can provide a degree of tangible detail, a sense of being there and a way of knowing that may not readily translate into other symbolic modes of communication. So, despite the irksome complexity of travelling through contested territory, the new knowledge yielded by the innovative methods we suggest make the journey beneficial."[114]

This chapter has provided an operational definition of spirituality and an overview of the field of visual research. The following chapter narrates the field research process and explains how the data was uncovered.

---

[113] Michael Ball 1998 'The Visual Availablity of Culture', in Prosser (ed) *Image-based Research*, London: Falmer Press, pp. 131-147. p. 141.
[114] Jon Prosser and Dona Schwartz 'Photographs within the Sociological Research Process' in Ibid. p. 116.

Chapter 2

The Research Process: A Narrative Account

The current chapter offers a commentary on the research methods used to uncover the spirituality of post-Soviet young people and a description of the research process. The methods for gathering this data necessitated the use of research techniques from fields outside the area of theological research. This is often the nature of contemporary research, because the boundaries between academic fields are breaking down. This situation is particularly evident in studies of visual culture, a field that draws on art history, sociology, media studies, photography, anthropology, cultural studies and several other related disciplines. The research for this dissertation was qualitative in nature, followed a case study model, and employed an ethnographic perspective. This chapter begins with an explanation of why it was necessary for the research to be conducted in this way, and is followed by a description of how these methods fit together. The practical use of the methods is detailed in the form of a narrative account of the fieldwork.

A Qualitative Approach using Case Study methods

Since Orthodoxy is regarded as the national religion in the countries of the CIS, young people's national identities are intermingled with religion. Sociologist Peter Berger suspects that religious social structures can form a false reality - things are not what they appear to be on the surface.[115] He believes that religiosity is an aspect of a culture that can validate the illusion of the 'absoluteness' of one idea of society, giving people an identity and sense of purpose.[116] Since this research sought to dig beneath the surface of exterior religious forms to discover young people's raw spirituality, it was useful to adopt Max Weber's stance of '*Verstehen*', the social scientist's attempt to understand both the intention and the context of human action.[117] For Weber there are two ways of obtaining social understanding: rationally comprehending logical behaviour and empathetically understanding what appears to be irrational behaviour.[118] Therefore, since the subject area is spirituality, and behaviour motivated by spiritual ideas can be irrational or rational, it was considered that the best way to unearth the motivations behind these actions was a qualitative approach with an empathetic understanding. In his similar research, Hardy

---

[115] Peter Berger 1961 *The Precarious Vision: A Sociologist Looks at Social Fictions and Christian Faith.* New York: Doubleday. p. 16

[116] Ibid. p. 21.

[117] Max Weber 1962 *Basic Concepts in Sociology.* London: Peter Owen. p. 35.

[118] Ibid. p. 18.

avoided the use of a questionnaire for the initial gathering of religious experiences because, as he writes, "these experiences are so precious and personal to the people who have them that many are likely to be put off by being asked to fill in such a form about them…"[119]

Within a qualitative framework, the research followed the case study model, which supports the use of eclectic methods. According to researcher Bill Gillham, "the use of multiple sources of evidence, each with its strengths and weaknesses, is a key characteristic of case study research."[120] Furthermore, the case study approach yielded the kind of data that was needed for a study of spirituality in a social context that buried most expressions of religiosity during seventy years of Communism. Hammersley writes, "…where accuracy depends on understanding in context and/or on penetrating false fronts, I think it is clear that case study has the greater capacity for accuracy [than surveys]."[121] Moreover, according to J. Clyde Mitchell, case studies are more specific to everyday behaviour than the general statements typical of ethnographic 'reportage'. "Instead, they [case studies] are the means whereby general theory may be developed, since it is through the fieldworker's intimate knowledge of the interconnections among the actors and events constituting the case study or social situation, that the fieldworker is strategically placed to appreciate the theoretical significance of these interconnections."[122]

The case study model does not require a wide research sample. It was decided not to search for a typical sample of students; instead the research sought out a 'telling' case – a group of people who would most likely demonstrate their spirituality through visual means.[123] Mitchell wrote that a case study "enables the analyst to establish theoretically valid connections between events and phenomena which previously were ineluctable. From this point of view, the search for a 'typical' case for analytical exposition is likely

---

[119] Sir Alister Hardy 1979 *The Spiritual Nature of Man: A Study of Contemporary Religious Experience*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. p. 20.
[120] Bill Gillham 2000 *Case Study Research Methods*. London: Continuum. p. 2.
[121] Martyn Hammersley 1992 *What's wrong with ethnography? : methodological explorations*. London ; New York: Routledge. p. 198.
[122] J. C. Mitchell 1984, in Ellen (ed) *Ethnographic Research: A Guide to General Conduct*, London: Academic Press, p. 240.
[123] Researchers at Keele University performed a two-year study of youth crime and vigilantism funded by the Economic and Social Research Council by conducting a case study in a town in England. They used a 'telling' case to illuminate how people's fears were connected to their feelings about living in the town and the role the media and word-of-mouth narratives played in making these connections. The researchers demonstrated that a 'telling' case was informative for their research questions because they wanted to study the connections between social factors. See Evi Girling, Ian Loader, and Richard Sparks 1998 'A telling tale: a case of vigilantism and its aftermath in an English town', *British Journal of Sociology* 49(3): 474-490.

to be less fruitful than the search for a 'telling' case in which the particular circumstances surrounding a case serve to make previously obscure theoretical relationships suddenly apparent."[124] Therefore, a 'telling' case was used in order to enable an exploration of the connection between the visual and the spiritual.[125] Thus, the case is telling because it was performed in Kiev, Ukraine, an Orthodox country with a long history of using images in religious practice. It is also telling because the research was conducted among students, who are at a stage in life where they are seeking to express their identity and, as students, they have the freedom to decorate their own living space. The case included twenty students aged seventeen to twenty-three; half were male and half were female. The students were from five different universities in Kiev and were studying various subject areas and had diverse religious affiliations and backgrounds. A quarter of the students were from Kiev and lived with their parents, the remainder were from other cities in Ukraine and lived in student accommodation. The sample is telling of the larger group of students in Ukraine in terms of the connection between the visual and the spiritual, but the results are not generalisable in terms of proportions of students in the sample that held particular beliefs.

It is entirely possible to present the fieldwork and research findings as an almost scientific process, demonstrating how the research questions shaped the methodology, and how the use of these methods brought forth data that answered the questions. However, the actual research process was far messier than this. As discoveries were made, the research focus was adjusted and the methods were adapted accordingly. Particularly for those writing case study research, Bill Gillham advises that a more autobiographical, narrative approach can achieve a clearer representation of how the discoveries really took place.[126] Therefore, this chapter offers the reader a narrative account of the research process, which is suited to the naturalistic, qualitative, ethnographic style of the fieldwork. Additionally, according to education researcher Stephen Ball, ethnographic research requires a "self-

---

[124] Mitchell, p. 239.

[125] Cf. Robert K. Yin 1994 *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. London: Sage. Yin writes that a 'revelatory case' can serve as the rationale for a single case study when the researcher has an opportunity to observe and analyse a phenomenon not previously investigated. He gives Whyte's *Street Corner Society* as an example, as well as Elliot Liebow's case study of unemployed black men described in his book *Tally's Corner* (1967). Liebow studied one group of men living in the inner city of Washington D. C. Yin notes that Liebow's observations of their daily lives and his conversations with them gave insight into the problems of unemployment that were common across the USA. Writing about these 'revelatory cases', Yin asserts, "When other investigators have similar types of opportunities and can uncover some prevalent phenomenon previously inaccessible to scientists, such conditions justify the use of a single case study on the grounds of its revelatory nature." p. 40.

[126] Gillham *Case Study Research Methods*. p. 96.

conscious engagement with the world."[127] Therefore, he suggests that it is necessary for the ethnographic researcher to report the challenges encountered during the fieldwork, particularly the affect of the researcher on the research process. He refers to this awareness of the relationship between social interaction and data collection as 'reflexivity'. Thus, this is a reflexive, narrative account of the field research.[128]

Between May 2000 and September 2002, I kept a research journal for recording thoughts and observations as the fieldwork progressed. This notebook consists of photographs and other interesting pictures, as well as written text. I will include excerpts from the journal that show the development of my thinking as I conducted the research. The first entry is the initial 'Thesis Proposal' that was written for the application for the course at Kings College London. I wrote that I aimed "to study the younger generation in Ukraine aged 15-30, and cover topics such as education, pop culture from the West, influence of parents, capitalism, increased perceptions of risk, notions of God and post modernism." Furthermore, I also hoped to discover how national identity and identification with Orthodoxy were intertwined in young people's innate spirituality. These thoughts grew out of an informal study of youth culture in Eastern Europe that I wrote for the International Fellowship of Evangelical Students (IFES) in 1999. These vague ideas and associations were gradually narrowed, defined, and came to be the focus of this dissertation.

Preliminary Studies: October 2000-August 2001

Background reading

I began the preparation for the field research at Kings College London where I explored and researched the emerging field of visual ethnography, and, as previously mentioned, at conferences discussed my ideas with visual research practitioners. Additionally, I spent several months studying Ukrainian history because it was essential to develop an understanding of the Ukrainian historical and religious context before I sought to engage with people in Kiev. This historical knowledge helped me achieve a measure of credibility with Ukrainians – they could see that I was serious about learning about Ukraine because I had spent time learning their history.

---

[127] Stephen Ball 1990a 'Self-Doubt and Soft Data', *Qualitative Studies in Education* 3(2): 157-171.
[128] Due to the personal nature of the reflexive comments in this chapter, it was deemed best to write this chapter in a first person, narrative tone to avoid awkward use of passive forms.

Background interview and equipment pilot

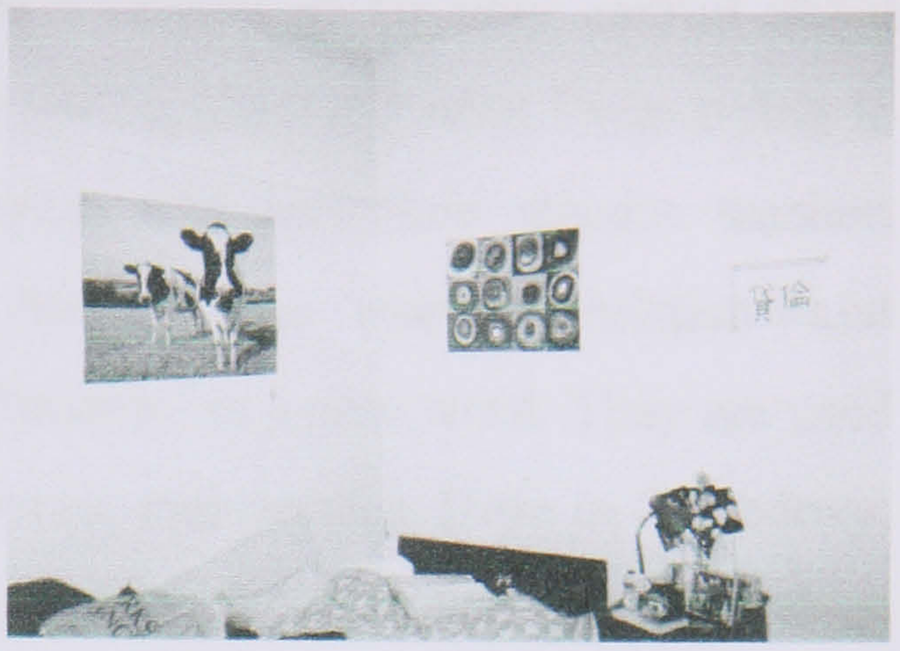
As part of the preliminary studies, I conducted an interview in February 2001 with Barrett Horne, the IFES regional coordinator for Eurasia. He has more than fifteen years experience of advising and overseeing the work of Christian student movements in universities in the former Soviet Union, particularly with students in Ukraine. He described his first-hand observations of the changes that occurred when Ukraine became independent from Russia at the collapse of the Soviet Union and gave me his perspective on the 'spiritual vacuum' that so many people referred to at that time. He offered his critique of Western mission projects as they poured into the region and the result of this influx on the beliefs of Ukrainians. He identified some of the unique religious tensions and existing spiritual beliefs of the people, and what he believed to be the primary life concerns of the general population. He explained the complexity of a young person's identification with the Orthodox Church and its ties with nationalism and cultural identity. Furthermore, he described his perspective on the major challenges faced by both Orthodox and Protestant churches in the region.

This interview aided in the identification of some of the key issues, particularly his observations of Ukrainians' love of the mystical, and how this was manifested through Orthodox faith and practice, and later through Soviet ideals as well. Reading the interview transcript enabled me to clarify that the research aim was not to *help* Ukrainians, but to *understand* them. As Horne helpfully pointed out, many people from Europe and North America have arrived in their country eager to help, but with little understanding of their situation. Horne's insights into Soviet spirituality confirmed my ideas about the importance of the visual, which helped draw together my thinking on the spiritual use of images. The interview was also valuable in a practical sense, because Horne put me in contact with staff from the Christian student movement in Ukraine, 'CCX'. They were able to help with the practical details of the fieldwork, such as finding a flat in which to live and a translator. Finally, on another practical point, this first interview provided an opportunity to test the mini-disk recorder and microphone, which picked up our voices clearly and unobtrusively.

Pilot study of student walls – Durham University

In February 2001, I visited Durham University and stayed in the student halls of residence of one of the colleges. While there, I conducted a pilot content analysis of student walls. I

informally met students, spoke with them about my research, and eventually asked four students for permission to photograph their walls. All willingly complied, and this reassured me that once students understood the research, they would most likely not be offended by a request to photograph their walls. (In fact, I later learned that one girl that I did not ask was disappointed not to be included in the research). I took only one photograph in each room, but discovered that one picture is definitely not enough, because rooms have four walls. *(One of the photographs is included here).* I discovered that students were eager to tell me about what they had on their walls and why they had put it there. One of the male students had pornography on his wall. This did not embarrass him, so I chose not to be embarrassed either. Nevertheless, it was a useful warning for what I should be prepared to find on student walls in Ukraine. This pilot study, although very simple, was immensely helpful as I sought to clarify practically how to conduct the research of students' walls in Ukraine.



Preliminary trip to the Field

In May 2001, I travelled to Kiev for a week of preliminary research. I sought to begin building a network of contacts and to solidify plans to live there for ten months, including finding a place to live and a translator. While there, the project quickly took shape with the assistance of various people.

I individually interviewed four Ukrainian staff from the Christian Student Union (CCX). I listened to their opinions and observations of the spiritual search of the students that they meet in their work. I also asked them about young people's attitudes toward the Orthodox Church, and how the students perceive Protestant groups. Below are some of the main issues that emerged from these interviews and shaped the development of the research:

First, I learned that I needed to clarify a few terms. Tanya Maximemko, a staff worker and editor of CCX's newspaper, told me, "for our people, the meaning of this word, 'spiritual' means two things. One it is something religious. Second, they say something like, this person is spiritual: they mean that they go to the theatres, they read books, they

are intelligent . . . a person who values things not only in this material world."[129] This was a very helpful distinction, and reminded me that I needed to be very careful about defining the terms, and make certain that the translator understood what I was trying to communicate. Victor Kuznetsov, CCX staff worker and part time physics teacher, mentioned that there is sometimes confusion between the words 'Christian' and 'Orthodox'. He said, "for [Ukrainian students] 'Christian' is a new word. They are used to the word 'Orthodox'. That means the building, icons, and candles. Even in Orthodoxy, the word 'Christian' is not really used, for historical reasons. They just call themselves Orthodox."[130] He explained that the word 'Christian' could be used to refer to Protestants but also to cultic groups.

The CCX staff also offered practical advice about conducting the research. They explained that approximately half of the students live at home with their family, and the rest, those from outside Kiev, live in student accommodation, and that, in order to represent both types of students, the research should take place both in the student dormitories and, for those who lived at home, in their parents' flat. The staff also suggested that I meet with students from various types of universities, specifically mentioning the Polytechnic University and Kiev Mohyla Academy, and offered to assist with contacts at both places. Katya Sopova, also a staff worker, emphasised, "people who study humanities have another way of thinking, sometimes, another way of imagining things. And people who study technical things are different."[131]

I described my plans to study the contents of students' walls and, although generally enthusiastic about what I could learn through this study, the staff offered a few useful warnings. Maximemko said, "sometimes the wallpaper is dirty, so that's why they have all those pictures. It's not because they want to express something. It's just because they want to cover those dirty places."[132] I realised that I should ask students why they put something on the wall. She also mentioned that while students are usually free to put pictures on the wall in the dormitory, with their roommate's leave, students who live at home may be constrained by their parent's wishes, particularly if their room doubles as a

---

[129] Interview with Tanya Maximemko, 18 May 2001, Kiev, Ukraine. The Russian word she is talking about is 'духовность' [dukhovnost].
[130] Interview with Victor Kuznetsov, 16 May 2001, Kiev, Ukriane.
[131] Interview with Katya Sopova, 16 May 2001, Kiev, Ukraine. Actually, although I was careful to include students from various disciplines, I did not find a marked correlation between field of study and students' spirituality. Interestingly, Alister Hardy studied the spirituality of students in Britain in the 1970s, and discovered no correlation between spiritual experiences and the students' field of study, whether arts or sciences. See Hardy *The Spiritual Nature of Man: A Study of Contemporary Religious Experience*. p. 126.
[132] Interview with Tanya Maximemko, 18 May 2001, Kiev, Ukraine.

sitting room or study. Later, when I wrote the questions for the interviews, I included the question, 'are you free to decorate your walls as you please?'[133] Bordovskaya, an experienced staff worker, mentioned that the students might have bought the pictures on their walls, but they might also be gifts. She also told me that recently different companies had given posters to students to promote their products. She said, "they are not necessarily really excited about this thing. It's just a free poster so they just use it."[134] Thus, when interviewing students, I usually asked them about the origin of their wall hangings. I also included a few adverts in my photo elicitation archive, to test whether students would choose to put them on their walls.

Through these preliminary interviews, I became aware of some possible difficulties, such as access to student accommodation. Maximemko mentioned that students would be cautious about inviting me into their room if they just "met me on the street." However, she reassured me, saying, "They usually open their homes, they like guests. But for you it is better to have a Ukrainian friend with you who knows the people there. If not, it might be strange. They would wonder why you are there."[135] Bordovskaya emphasised that I would need to develop a relationship with students before they would speak openly with me, because issues such as meaning in life and spirituality can be very private. However, she also warned, "If you start relationships, then people would expect that, well, you can't just drop them. They'd be offended if it just finishes, and then they feel like they have been used."[136] I realised that part of having integrity as a researcher would mean that although I should be warmly interested in what students tell me, I should not lead them to believe that we would be life-long friends. While developing open, informal relationships I would need to maintain my status as 'researcher'. These interviews with CCX staff were invaluable to me as I began to plan the logistics of conducting the research.

During this preliminary visit to the field, I also met with another contact, Steve Weber, the director of the Christian Broadcasting Network for Ukraine, Belarus and Russia. He had invited me to meet him because he was interested in the project outcomes. I described my research aims and told him that I had been thinking about filming "a day in the life of" several students, in order to capture a glimpse of their social situation. He was interested in this idea, but pointed out that this technique would generate a lot of footage

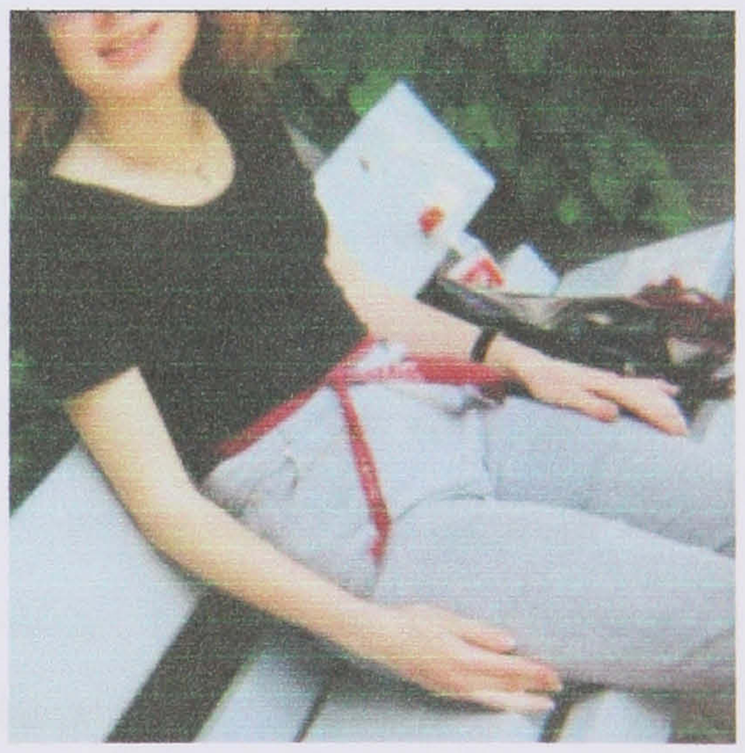
---

[133] See 'Interview Schedule', Appendix 1.
[134] Interview with Anya Bordovskaya, 19 May 2001, Kiev, Ukraine.
[135] Interview with Tanya Maximemko, 18 May 2001, Kiev, Ukraine.
[136] Interview with Anya Bordovskaya, 19 May 2001, Kiev, Ukraine.

that might not be useful. He also thought that there might be a danger that students would 'perform' to the camera, and I would not really be capturing the reality of the situation. He suggested that instead I should use still photography. I had already been thinking about asking the students to create a week's photograph diary, and we agreed that this alternative had the added advantage that the students could take all the photographs themselves.

During this week long preliminary visit to the field, I also met with several potential translators and offered the position to a student from one of the universities where I hoped to interview students. We discussed our working practices and the research aims, and she accepted the position and agreed to look out for useful contacts over the next four months until I returned to Kiev.

This first visit also enabled me to begin observing the uses of icons and spiritual objects. Oleg, my taxi driver from the airport, kept two icons on the dashboard of his car. I asked him why he kept them there, and he said that it was to remind him about God during the day. Later, I asked one of the CCX staff members in Kiev about this, and she said, "people who have icons are just superstitious. They are not real believers. They keep this icon, just in case. 'The saint will protect me or will remember me because I keep this icon in my working place.'"[137] Already I was finding interesting attitudes toward the spiritual use of the visual. During the course of a conversation with a Ukrainian student from Kharkov, Ukraine, she showed me her 'prayer belt', *(pictured)* a long piece of cloth with pictures of Jesus on it and prayers printed on the sides. She said, "it is for protection when you travel, but when you leave your house, you are travelling."[138] I asked another CCX staff worker about this practice later, and she said, "Oh yes, our students love talismans. Especially before their exams, they will use whatever, prayer belts, icons…"[139] These observations led me to consider material culture as an aspect of the research into the spirituality of young people.



---

[137] Interview with Katya Sopova, 16 May 2001, Kiev, Ukraine.
[138] Notes based on an informal interview with Anna Feltina, 17 May 2001, Kiev, Ukraine.
[139] Interview with Tanya Maximemko, 18 May 2001, Kiev, Ukraine.

Research Conducted on the Field: Sept 2001-July 2002

Setting the Scene

In September 2001, I moved to Kiev, Ukraine for ten months in order to conduct the field research, which consisted of eclectic methods to build a case study of the spirituality of students in Kiev. At this point I adopted what Bloome and Green, educational researchers, call an 'ethnographic perspective'. They write "that it is possible to take a more focused approach (i.e. do less than a comprehensive ethnography) to study particular aspects of everyday life and cultural practices of a social group."[140] Thus, although initially I had planned to study many aspects of Ukrainian life, I chose to focus on observing spirituality and certain types of uses of the visual. Bloome and Green note that it is not necessary to be an anthropologist or sociologist in order to adopt an ethnographic perspective in one's research. "Within each site, branch or discipline, ethnographers engage in 'ethnography' differently and the methodological practices used are themselves shaped by these differences."[141] The ethnographic perspective meant that as the researcher, I assumed a learning role within the culture within which to observe a group of young people. Michael Agar, a social researcher, writes, "ethnography is, I think, potentially the strongest social science metaphor within which members of some group can display the complexity and variability of their lives."[142]

The ethnographic perspective is evident in the relational aspect of this sympathetic examination of the spirituality of young people. According to Agar, "the raw material of ethnographic research lies out there in the daily activities of the people you are interested in, and the only way to access those activities is to establish relationships with people, participate with them in what they do, and observe what is going on."[143] Although the research cannot be described as a full participant observation project in the classical mould of William Whyte,[144] it did draw on participant observation in order to set the scene for the research. The initial months of research in Ukraine were spent just forming relationships. This was necessary because the social networks of Ukraine are driven by relationships. The legacy of the Communist days of barter and trading continues in

---

[140] D. & J. Green Bloome 1996 'Ethnography and Ethnographers of and in Education: A situated perspective', in Flood (ed) *A Handbook for Literacy Educators*, New York: Macmillan, p. 6.
[141] Ibid., p. 8.
[142] Michael Agar 1996 *The professional stranger : an informal introduction to ethnography*. 2nd Edition, San Diego: Academic Press. p. 252.
[143] Ibid. p. 31.
[144] William Foote Whyte 1955 *Street corner society; the social structure of an Italian slum*. Enl. [2d] Edition, [Chicago]: University of Chicago Press.

Ukraine, thus, almost everything is accomplished via a network of relationships. Additionally, it was necessary to earn the trust of the students before asking them personal questions, thus avoiding appearing to exert power without a relationship in place.[145] Whyte found, "my acceptance in the district depended on the personal relationships I developed far more than upon any explanations I might give."[146] The relationships formed with students were very valuable; much was learned through just spending time with them.

Thus, as I began the field research in Kiev, qualitative research and an empathetic stance served as a foundation for the methods used to discover the answers to the research questions. Within this framework, case study research allowed the use of multiple methods to obtain data and to analyse this 'telling' case. The ethnographic perspective provided a window through which to sensitively view young people's expressions of spirituality. Additionally, this research was a visual ethnography. The ethnographic fieldwork involves participation in, and observation of, the society researched. Visual researcher Michael Ball emphasises that fieldwork takes place in a visual environment that is uniquely available to the researcher, who is "engaged in making observational sense of a powerfully visual environment."[147] Below is an account of the research process, presented according to the research method used.

Participant Observation

Although the primary method of research was informal interviews, I also included participant observation wherever possible. I intentionally put myself in situations where I could observe culture according to my subject interest: student life, Orthodox faith in action, interaction with images in public space, and youth culture.

First, as soon as I arrived in Kiev, I sought to develop contacts with students in several universities. In the first month, I visited the student accommodation building of my translator, hoping to begin developing a sense of student life. Her university, Kiev Mohyla Academy, is a liberal arts university with a four-year programme modelled on the American collegiate system. It is the most competitive university in Ukraine, drawing the best students from across the country. I met many students there, these meetings led to

---

[145] Agar *The professional stranger : an informal introduction to ethnography*. p. 103.
[146] Whyte *Street corner society; the social structure of an Italian slum*. p. 300.
[147] Michael Ball 1998 'The Visual Availablity of Culture', in Prosser (ed) *Image-based Research*, London: Falmer Press, pp. 131-147. p. 135.

other meetings, and eventually I built up a network of student contacts there. Gradually, through friends, I developed contacts with students at Shevchenko University, the largest state-run university in Kiev, still run according to the Soviet educational system. My contacts there were mostly in the Mathematics faculty. I also developed links with students from the Sociology department of the National Academy of Science. Furthermore, I gave lectures at Solomon Institute, a private university, and at the state-run National Linguistic University. At the end of these lectures, I described the research project and invited students to volunteer to take part, gaining several volunteers on each occasion.

After making contact with students, my translator and I would set up informal meetings, possibly in a student café inside the university buildings, or in the city, or the students often wanted to show me sites or take me to a museum. Sometimes we met in their dormitory rooms or in their homes, which gave me an opportunity to informally observe the types of images that students put on their walls. Later, when I compiled the photo elicitation archive, I found I already had a sense of the types of images that students put on their walls. Also, at these informal meetings I asked the young people questions about student life and their perspectives various aspects of Ukraine – politics, education, religion, and so on. After these meetings I would record notable topics and discoveries in my research journal.

Second, in order to gain insight into the way some churches were attempting to meet the spiritual needs of young people, I visited various churches in Kiev. I particularly wanted to observe Orthodox faith in action and the function of icons within the Orthodox context. I began to attend services at the 'Church of the Icon of the Mother of God of Pochayev' with an informant, Sergiy Konoplitsky. He was an active member of this small Orthodox Church that met in a converted tool shed within a hospital complex. I was interested in his church, because the congregation almost entirely consisted of young people. The priest, Father Stephan, had a particular concern for students. At our initial meeting, I explained a little about my research and he was very welcoming, calling me 'sister' and inviting me to take part in the services. I kept the Orthodox Easter fast with the other church

members, and attended the all night Easter service and the celebration to break the fast. (*Pictured on the previous page is Father Stephan blessing the Easter food*). I also occasionally visited the church of St Catherine the Martyr, which met in a bank's conference room. I was interested in this church because it too was full of young people. Their priest, Father Petr, was open to other branches of Christianity and held Bible studies after the services. I joined the members of this congregation on two pilgrimages to ancient Christian sites. These were excellent opportunities to meet committed Orthodox believers, ask them about their faith and practice, and learn more about the religious history of Ukraine firsthand. I also attended several more traditional Orthodox churches in Kiev as well as several Protestant churches – a Russian Baptist church, a Baptist church planted by Americans, a Pentecostal church, an Orthodox Pentecostal church, a Protestant church (a Calvary Chapel church plant), and a Lutheran church.

Third, I actively observed of the use of images in public space, paying particular attention to Soviet monuments, new Ukrainian monuments and sculptures. I also studied advertising and the use of images in the parliamentary election that took place while I was there. *(Pictured is a wall with election posters).* I regularly visited the Kiev Museum of Modern Art to see the latest visual interests of Ukrainian artists. I also bought magazines and journals to view the images and adverts that the publishers thought would appeal to Ukrainian young people.

Finally, I took an active interest in youth and student culture. I went to events held for students within Kiev Mohyla Academy. I also attended a rock concert by a Russian band called 'Madheads'. I watched the music video channels and the popular soap operas on television. However, my main source of information was the students themselves. I asked them questions and showed an interest in their music, student newspapers, and many other aspects of student life. Interestingly, I discovered that students tended to identify themselves as belonging to a subculture that dictated how they spent their leisure time,

the music they listened to and the types of people they chose as friends. This was a significant finding, which I will discuss in detail in later chapters.

My relationships with the students continued after the interviews. Most of the time, I chatted with them in their rooms and drank tea, but on other occasions, we went out – perhaps to a concert, a café, or a museum. Sometimes their family would invite me for a meal. I kept notes about meetings with students in my research journal. I documented ninety-three informal meetings with students over the course of the field research. The relationship building before the interview and the continuing relationship after the interview were important to the case study, because I discovered that interviews can be like snapshots, capturing only a moment in time. This ongoing relationship allowed me to observe the students over a course of time. I wrote in my research journal that I was surprised by the changes in one of the students in particular. "This was something I had not counted on – an informant changing so much in only three months! It is a good lesson – people are complex and are always changing and growing - an interview is merely a glimpse of a person's life." *(Pictured is one of the students who participated in the case study. We had been shopping in the open market and talking about icons. She showed me what she called 'The Holy Trinity' which she carries with her everywhere).*

One of the biggest challenges was to maintain an appropriate relational distance from students. On the one hand, in their culture relationships are essential for accomplishing everything, and thus, I could not have conducted my research apart from personal relationships. On the other hand, I had to keep in mind that students might have been motivated to befriend me by their desire to increase their relational network, and I was a good candidate as a Western foreigner. I was also aware that my presence would have some effect on their lives, and I wanted to keep that effect to a minimum. I wanted to be responsible – I could walk away from Ukraine at the end of my research and I might never see them again. As mentioned above, I tried to avoid building up false expectations for a lasting friendship. Therefore, maintaining an appropriate relationship was a challenge, but I believe I succeeded in most cases.

Background information interviews

In addition to participating in student life, I performed four background information interviews in order to gain insight into the religious context.

Shortly after my arrival in Kiev, I interviewed a philosophy student, Johnny Caugin, from Kiev Mohyla Academy. Since I was interested in a student's perspective on religious symbols, my translator suggested that I interview Johnny, because he was a committed Orthodox and knew a great deal about Orthodox thinking regarding icons. The interview was very informative, but was rather more formal and stilted than I would have liked. After this, I decided that in the future I would meet informally and chat with students several times before I interviewed them, in order to create a more relaxed atmosphere for the interview. Nevertheless, Johnny's comments offered useful insights into the influence of paganism on the way people sometimes use icons and the role of old women in maintaining these traditions. From this interview, I also developed the idea of including an icon amongst the other images in the archive that I used for the photo elicitation interviews.

I also interviewed Father Stephan, the priest of the small Orthodox Church, 'Pochayev,' that I often attended. I asked him about the Orthodox position on several contemporary issues and questioned him about his attitude toward dress codes in worship services. I was impressed by his concern for helping young people rediscover Orthodoxy. He told me that he planned to start Sunday lessons and a newspaper with articles about various relevant issues. I was able to explain about the research project, so that he would understand what I was doing and why. He was very welcoming and encouraging – therefore his support of the research meant that others in his church were open to me. Thus, I was pronounced an 'OK guy', in the language of Whyte's *Street Corner Society*,[148] and able to interact freely with people within the parish.

I interviewed Father Petr Zuev (parish priest and editor of the Orthodox journal *Synopsis*) and Yuri Chernomorez (philosopher and writer for *Synopsis*) about young people in the Orthodox Church and their attitudes toward icons. Father Petr explained that *Synopsis* is a theological journal that aims to engage with culture and to draw intellectuals back to the church. We discussed the concept of generations, and whether a spiritual search could

---

[148] Whyte *Street corner society; the social structure of an Italian slum*.

actually be specific to a generation, or whether the search is similar for all people. Yuri Chernomorez explained that during Soviet days a person's faith was separated from the church, and became more of an inner notion of morality than a religion. He defined Orthodoxy as a lifestyle and worldview as well as a faith. He talked about many other topics, including how young people are learning about Orthodoxy though the Internet. This meeting not only opened up new networks for me, but their candid responses to my questions helped to clarify some of my suspicions about difficult issues that the Orthodox church faces.

Finally, I interviewed Tanya Mikhaylik, the co-founder of Baruch Books, one of the largest Christian publishing and translation companies in Ukraine. Since her company publishes books and materials primarily for the Protestant market, I wanted to find out more about the bookmarks that her company produces that resemble icons. Additionally, since she must choose the topics of the books for her company to translate and publish, she had a few useful insights into the spiritual needs of Ukrainian people.

Photo Elicitation Interviews

Once I decided that a student might be a 'telling' case, I asked them whether they would like to further participate in my research by allowing me to interview them. At this point, I explained to him or her that the interview should take place in his or her living space, and that only he or she, my translator and myself should be present. At this point, I also explained that the interview would last around forty-five minutes, and I asked for permission to audio record the interview and take photographs of the walls in the student's living space.

The interviews employed a method called 'photo elicitation' involving the use of images to invoke comments and discussion in the course of a semi-structured interview.[149] According to Banks, this method allows the interviewer to draw out abstractions and generalities based on the cultural forms and images depicted. The image gives the interviewee the opportunity to discuss vague memories, associations or connotations that are related to the image. Additionally, Prosser explains that photographs used in this manner are useful in exploring the participant's values, beliefs, attitudes and meanings.[150] The personal nature of the data elicited is necessary for a study of innate spirituality.

---

[149] Marcus Banks 2001 *Visual methods in social research*. London: SAGE. p. 87.
[150] Jon Prosser 1998 *Image-based research : a sourcebook for qualitative researchers*. London ; Bristol, PA: Falmer Press. p. 124.

Additionally, photo elicitation is useful in an interview because it relaxes the interviewee - the spotlight is on the pictures, not the person. Less eye contact needs to be maintained as both interviewer and interviewee gaze at the images, and handling the pictures can fill gaps in the conversation.[151] In this research, photo elicitation methods were used in three different ways.

Photo Elicitation from the Image Archive

A photo archive consisting of fifty-five images collected from magazines, posters and the Internet was used at the beginning of the interviews. These images had been compiled based on observations of what types of pictures students tended to put on their walls. The students were asked to chose which images they would never put on their walls, and then to choose five or less that they would definitely put on their walls. As they looked through the pictures and made their decisions, they were asked about their choices and given opportunities to discuss any special meaning that might be attached to a particular image. For each student, the images held different levels of personal significance - some images had deeply personal meaning and others had no special significance at all. Banks points out that although the interview elicits personal information from images with special significance to the interviewee, the distance established by images with limited personal relevance can aid in speaking about broader social issues.[152] Furthermore, since the same images were used in all the interviews, the different reactions and opinions that the students expressed about the same image could be compared.

The archive of images included different categories of images, and several images from each category. There were fifteen pictures of music pop stars, because I wanted to cover a range of styles, such as foreign pop, Slav pop, hip hop, foreign rock, Slav rock, Dance / Techno, and Metal. Since I hoped to test for a reading of consumer images, I included seven adverts or logos. The archive also contained photographs of political figures, sports stars, a topless woman, nature scenes, still photographs from television programmes and films, as well as art prints. As I had noted in the research journal, through the preliminary research I had come to suspect that Ukrainian youth culture was fragmented into various subcultures. I tested for this by including pictures from various groups, to see if the students placed themselves within a group. Furthermore, because of my interest in people's attitudes toward Soviet monuments, I included three photographs of well-known

---

[151] See John and Malcolm Collier Collier 1986 *Visual Anthropology: Photography as a Research Method.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. pp. 105-107.
[152] Banks *Visual methods in social research.* p. 95.

monuments. Since I was also interested to see whether students would put a photograph of a person that they knew on their wall, I included one image that represented the respondent's friends. Finally, I included three overtly religious images – an icon, a New Age drawing called 'The Chart of the Divine Self' and a drawing of five Buddhas. I numbered each image, for ease of note taking during the interview.

I began the interview by asking the student to look through the fifty-five pictures, take out all the images they would 'never' put on their walls, and tell me why they would not put them up. Then, of the remaining pictures, I asked them to choose five or less which they would 'definitely' be willing to put up on their wall in their personal living space. Then I probed to discover why they chose these particular images, and whether the pictures symbolised anything to them. I also asked them what their friends would learn about them if they saw these images on their walls.[153]

This method allowed me to ask each student whether they would put an icon on their wall, which often led to interesting discussions about belief in God and what an icon represents. Additionally, this exercise enabled students to describe their criteria for putting images on their walls, and revealed their decision making in action. Moreover, it was a relaxed way to begin the interview because the focus of attention was on the photographs and pictures. Hence, we were free to talk and sometimes laugh about the pictures and often without prompting the students would tell me stories or associations that came to mind from the images.

On its own, this method would not have been successful in discovering what sorts of images students put on their walls. Due to the fragmentation of youth cultures and styles of music, it was impossible to represent all tastes and categories in one archive. In addition, a stratification of students by subculture did not emerge as I thought it would. However, this shortcoming was remedied by the following part of the interview, in which I spoke with the students about the pictures on their walls. Nevertheless, the image archive was still a necessary component of the interview, in case a student may not have been free to decorate their living space, constrained by roommates, parents, money, access to images, or any other reason.

---

[153] The full interview schedule can be found in Appendix 1.

Student walls - Photo Elicitation and Content Analysis

Second, the students were interviewed about the images on their walls. In his research in India, Banks discovered that walls were sacred space. He observed that, as opposed to in Euro-American culture, in India photographs of living relatives were rarely displayed on the walls of people's homes. On the other hand, pictures of dead relatives were frequently enlarged, framed, decorated with flowers and hung on the walls in a prominent place in people's homes. Incense was sometimes burned on the anniversary of the depicted person's death, and the forehead of the dead relative's image may have been dotted with a special paste. Images of divinities and sacred people, as well as pictures of shrines, temples or mosques were also frequently displayed in the home.[154] Since the research was testing whether wall space is treated as sacred space in Slavic culture, I included images that students chose to put on their walls.

The interviews were conducted, as much as possible, in the students' personal living space – either student accommodation or their room at home. Thus, they provided the images used for elicitation, because they had already chosen to put those images on their walls. Banks points out that in the photo elicitation technique, the pictures themselves bear part-responsibility, with the researcher, in drawing out from the subjects their memories, experiences and values.[155] The students talked about each image on their walls, why they had put them up, and whether the pictures had any symbolic meaning for them. Thus, collaborating with the students and using images that they themselves have chosen as significant enough to put on their walls ensured that there was plenty to talk about. Furthermore, the images students put on their walls were not controlled by the research, and therefore this was entirely their own expression and gave them a strong voice in the interview.

Thus, in the second half of the interview, I asked the students to talk about their own room and their choice of images for their walls. I asked them how long they had lived in the room, and whether they were free to decorate as they would like to. I also asked them whether they had placed the items on the walls themselves. (I had discovered that sometimes in student halls of accommodation, students would leave pictures on the wall from the previous occupant. According to the students, some pictures had been on the

---

[154] Banks *Visual methods in social research.* p. 55.
[155] Ibid. p. 95.

walls for several years). I asked them where the images had come from, and why they had chosen to put them on the wall. I also asked them what they think people might learn about them when they see their walls. It was interesting that some of the students were aware of intentionally representing themselves through their pictures on their walls. Others said that their pictures were for their own comfort, part of making their living space their own. In fact, one student who did not have any pictures on her walls told me that she did not feel at home in the room, and thus did not feel free to put things on the walls.

I also probed to discover whether any of the images had symbolic meaning for the students. In one of my journal entries I wrote about how I had discovered that the pictures on the walls sometimes seemed to symbolise friendships or relationships, thus, the image itself was not valued for its content but as a material object signifying a relationship. I asked students whether there were images that were important or significant to them that were not on their walls. Sometimes they showed me a photo album, or some of their own drawings or art. The personal nature of the images often led them to tell stories about their life. I also asked them whether they could think of an image that they would like to put on their walls, whether something they had seen or that they could imagine. I asked this question in case students were constrained by money or roommates as to what they could put on their walls.

At the end of the interview, I took photographs of the student's walls, with their permission. (One student did not allow me to photograph his walls, but did allow me to write down the contents of his walls). I asked the students to help me frame the photographs, so that I included only the images that belonged to them. I used a digital camera, and showed the thumbnail image on the back of the camera to the students so that they could see the photograph I had taken. Later, using the photographs of each student's wall, I performed a content analysis of the pictures within the photographs.[156]

'Week of my Life' Photograph Project

The third use of photo elicitation involved another method called 'auto-photobiography', which has been used in social psychology for several years, particularly in studies of the self.[157] Several of the students previously interviewed were given a role of 24-exposure

---

[156] Appendix 3 gives an example of the content analysis of one student's room.
[157] Robert Ziller 1990 *Photographing the Self: Methods for Observing Personal Orientations*. Newbury: Sage.

35 mm film. They were asked to take three pictures a day for a week, in order to illustrate a week of their life. I had a preliminary meeting with each student to explain the project. I gave them each a page of written guidelines in Russian which I have included a translation of below:

- The aim of this project is for you to visually represent a week of your life.
- I will provide one roll of 35 mm film, 24 exposures.
- Please take at least 21 pictures, preferably 3 a day for a week. Feel free to use all the film.
- A week is seven days in a row, with no gaps, no longer than a week.
- You can use your own camera or you can borrow mine.
- Show me different aspects of your week that you normally experience
- Please be honest! If I were to show these pictures to your friends, would they think that they accurately portray a week of your life?
- I am interested in a week of YOUR life, not the average Ukrainian student. Feel free to be yourself.
- Have fun!

At the end of the week the photographs were developed and then an interview was conducted to discuss them. With the student's help, I numbered each photograph, so that we could discuss them in the intended chronology. I then asked them to tell me about their week, based on their representations in the photographs. I asked them whether they felt the pictures accurately showed what their week was like. I also asked them to tell me what was difficult about the project. Several said that being limited to three photographs a day was not easy, because they could not predict what interesting events might happen during the day. One student commented, "I was thinking all the time that I must make only three pictures during the day, but sometimes during the day there was so much and I met so many people and so many events have happened that I just forgot, or I was thinking, what if later it will be more interesting, I would be better to take a picture later, and like this. So, not everything is here, unfortunately."[158] She said it would have been better to have an unlimited number of photographs that they could take. However, I do not think I would change this aspect of the project. I chose to limit the students to three photographs a day because I wanted them to show me what was important, not every single event of the day.

This part of the field research was fascinating because the camera was in the hands of the students, giving them the power to represent their world to me. In the interview I gave them the opportunity to further interpret their own world. For example, I asked the students, "If someone who did not know you were to look at these photographs, do you

---

[158] Photo Case Study Interview with Anna Sukhodolska, 7 June 2002, Kiev, Ukraine.

think they could understand what is important to you?" One of the students said that the content of the photographs did not reflect the importance of her studies. However, after a moment she said that she needed to think about it, because maybe the pictures reflected the truth after all, and her studies were not as important to her as she had thought.[159] This was a highly collaborative method of photo elicitation, because the subjects were fully familiar with the photographs since they had created them.[160] The interview allowed them to talk about the photographs, explaining the context and intention of each image.

Harper notes that for the visual researcher, access can affect validity and reliability.[161] The researcher may not be permitted to photograph all the activities of interest. However, by allowing the students to take the camera into all parts of their lives, they chose to grant me access to private parts of their lives through the lens of the camera. For example, one of the students took photographs of intimate moments with her boyfriend. Another student took a mocking photograph of the toilet in his student accommodation. This method made data of a personal nature available for analysis.

Another student took several photographs of advertisements. When I probed and asked why he would include them in a representation of a week of his life, he said, "But we see it every time. It's a part of our lives. All Troyeschina, (the region of Kiev where he lives) all routes to the academy are full of these advertisements. And in the metro we also stand or sit and look on these advertisements. It's everywhere."[162] *(See photo on p.131)* Through these interviews, I made other discoveries about students' interaction with the visual in public space, including graffiti, monuments and adverts, all of which will be discussed in a later chapter.

However, the photo study of the week project was not overly successful for several reasons. First, I was only able to conduct the study with three of the case study students, since this project took far longer than I imagined to set up. Second, I failed to clarify at the beginning whether the students should include themselves in the photographs. All of

---

[159] Photo Case Study Interview with Anna Sukhodolska, 7 June 2002, Kiev, Ukraine.
[160] Cf. Patricia Van der Does, et al. 1992 'Reading Images: A study of a Dutch neighbourhood', *Visual Sociology* 7(1): 4-68. In a study of a multicultural Dutch neighbourhood in 1997, research students collaborated with subjects on the production of the actual photographs to be used in the interviews. They allowed the informants to frame the photos and choose those to be used in the interviews. The researchers found that this method yielded large amounts of interesting data – visual and textual – about the social situation.
[161] Douglas Harper 1998 'An Argument for Visual Sociology', in Prosser (ed) *Image-based Research*, London: Falmer Press, pp. 24-41. p. 29.
[162] Photo Case Study Interview with Yuri Akimov, 27 June 2002, Kiev, Ukraine.

them assumed that they should be in the photographs, but said that sometimes this was difficult because there was no one nearby that they could ask to take a photograph. One student solved this problem by holding the camera at arm's length to include herself in the photograph, with less than satisfying results.

On the other hand, the three students who participated seriously tried to represent a week of their life, and thus gave me a taste of what student life is like. For example, I learned that since student accommodation is often located a long distance from the university, students spend a lot of their time in public transport. They also showed me how important their friends are to them. I also learned that balancing part-time jobs with studies is a challenge for many students. One student showed me how important beauty techniques are to her, such as rubbing her face with cucumber in the morning, or putting on a mask of crushed strawberries. One student showed me how unsanitary the living conditions in the student halls can be by taking a photograph of the men's toilets. Another student showed me that sex is a significant part of her life by including intimate moments between herself and her boyfriend. *(Her photograph is included here, taken with an automatic timer.)* Although I had spent time with each of these students over the last six months and had already interviewed them about their walls in their living space, these aspects of their lives did not come out until they showed them to me through photographs.

In some ways, I wish that I had performed this study with all the students who participated in the case study. On the other hand, perhaps this would only have been useful if the dissertation solely focused on student life in Kiev and the issues that students face. The photographs of the week study, although interesting, did not raise any new information about the spirituality of students. The only aspect that might have spiritual significance was that for each of these three students, Saturday and Sunday were both equally rest days, and neither was treated as a particularly sacred day and none of them went to church during the week of the project. Therefore, although this was an interesting experiment, the dissertation does not rely heavily on this part of the research.

Visual Data

As mentioned above, I took photographs of the posters and pictures on walls of the students' accommodation. These photographs are used as data, just as the transcripts of

the interviews serve as data.[163] The photographs work alongside the transcript, showing visually what the written text describes. Later, these photographs were not only used to illustrate the interviews, but were also used to perform a content analysis of the images in each student's living space. Sociologist Jon Wagner calls this 'content analysis of naïve photographs', meaning images not taken by the researcher, such as personal photos, adverts, posters, etc.[164]

Furthermore, I took photographs of social phenomena that were relevant to the research questions, taken based on what was observed about the culture. This is a typically sociological and objective way of using photographs in research and corresponds to the ethnographer's field notebook in which information is recorded for later use.[165] Some of these photographs are used illustratively within the text of this dissertation.

Two Surveys

In order to gain a broad understanding of the general opinion of certain issues in Kiev, I conducted two administered questionnaires.

Book preferences

In December 2001, I conducted an administered questionnaire to see whether booksellers had insights into the spiritual search of Ukrainian people through the books they buy. In addition, I was curious as to whether the topic of book sales related to the age of those buying the books. The research was performed at 'World of Books'[166], an underground book market near Arsenalya metro station in Kiev. In Ukraine, it is difficult for one person to open a business as large as a bookshop with various topics. Yet it is much more feasible for people to raise enough capital to sell books from a stall. Thus, there is no large bookshop in Kiev, instead there are several book markets made up of many stalls. I chose this book market because it was located near two universities. There were sixty bookstalls with different types of books. I spoke with fifty-six of the booksellers and asked them three questions:

1) What is the general topic of your books?
2) What is the average number of books that you sell in a day?
3) What is the average age of the people who buy your books?

---

[163] Michael and Smith Emmison, Philip 2000 *Researching the Visual*. London: Sage. p. 24.
[164] Jon Wagner 1979 *Images of Information: Still Photography in the Social Sciences*. Beverly Hills: Sage.
[165] Harper 'An Argument for Visual Sociology', p. 33.
[166] 'Світ книги' in Ukrainian.

Lenin monument

On 23 May 2002, I conducted a survey of 148 people who walked near a Lenin monument in Kiev. The aim of the survey was to catch a glimpse of people's general opinion toward a monument to a Soviet hero and how conscious they were of it as propaganda. I conducted the research between 13:30 and 17:30 on a weekday with the help of my translator and two other Ukrainians. The four of us stood on the street within view of the monument and asked pedestrians whether they could spare a few moments to answer a few questions. The respondents were all ages, but many were young people, since Shevchenko University was nearby. The survey consisted of six questions, each with four possible responses and one 'other' response. The questions were as follows: 1) What is your first thought when you see this monument? 2) Why do you think this monument was placed here? 3) What do you think this monument meant to people twenty-five years ago? 4) What do you think it means to people now? 5) Do you think the monument should be taken down/ removed? 6) What is your age category? The full listing of the results can be found in Appendix 4.

Research Challenges

Throughout the course of the field research, I encountered several problems that are worth mentioning here. The first difficulty was a complicated language barrier. Since many students spoke Russian, I had begun learning Russian language six months before arrival in Kiev, and continued with lessons while there. However, the surge of nationalism since Ukraine gained independence from the USSR in 1991 caused a return to the use of Ukrainian language. In Kiev, some people were insisting on speaking only Ukrainian, while others continued in the familiar Russian. Even so, it emerged that most young people speak 'Surzyk', a slang-filled mixture of Russian and Ukrainian. Many students spoke some English, and were often eager to practice their skills on a native speaker. However, not wanting to limit the research to students who could speak English well, it was necessary to work with a translator. I hired a final year student who was able to work for me about ten hours a week. She joined me on many of my meetings and interviews with students, helping to interpret our conversations.

The next problem encountered was access to students. Most of the university buildings and student accommodation buildings had guards who only allowed students and staff inside. In order to spend time with students in either of these locations, it was necessary to be invited and hosted by a student. At first I thought that this could be overcome by

spending time in cafes and other student haunts, but it became evident that the students spent most of their time either at the university or in their accommodation blocks. Therefore, beginning with a visit to the student hall where my translator lived, I was introduced to other students and gradually, over time and with many students' help, I managed to develop a network of contacts with students in five universities. I discovered that relationships are the key to accomplishing most things in Kiev; therefore, as long as I knew someone who could introduce me to their friends or relatives, I was made to feel welcomed and accepted. Thus, gaining access to students took time but was achievable after a few months of relationship building and networking.

However, I soon encountered another problem – myself. I found that it was important for me to reflect on my attitude toward my own culture, because this affected how I saw Ukrainian culture. Hammersley recognised this as well, " . . . it is important in research to take account of one's own cultural assumptions and to open them up to possible disconfirmation . . ." [167] But he also notes that "we can never entirely escape our own assumptions about the world."[168] I began to wonder how I could possibly develop an unbiased ethnographic perspective. Anthropologist Tzvetan Todorov works to reconcile this tension through his theory of distancing and universality.[169] He explains that before the researcher can understand the 'other', she must detach from her own culture, and then draw near the other culture. Having lived abroad for eight years, I felt that I had reached a measure of distance from my own North American culture, which prepared me for drawing near to Ukrainian culture. One of the biggest challenges was to distance myself from typically 'Western' ways of thinking, and engage with the worldview of the research subjects. I recognised with Stephen Ball that "ethnography not only implies engagement of the researcher in the world under study; it also implies a commitment to a search for meaning, a suspension of preconceptions, and an orientation to discover."[170]

Once I had attempted to set my own cultural preconceptions aside as much as possible, I discovered another challenge. Ethnographic research is different from other kinds of research because of the researcher's personal involvement in the community. Since I, the researcher, was the main research tool, I recognised that my presence in Ukrainian universities would have an affect on the students that I spent time with. Therefore, I

---

[167] Hammersley *What's wrong with ethnography? : methodological explorations*. p. 169.
[168] Ibid. p. 169.
[169] Tzvetan Todorov 1988 'Knowledge in Social Antrhopology: Distancing and Universality', *Anthropology Today* 4(2): 2-5.
[170] Ball 'Self-Doubt and Soft Data'. p. 157.

intentionally spent most of our time together listening, asking questions, and rarely passing any kind of judgement. I found that I could limit questions about myself by honestly presenting myself as a fellow student. Ball advised, "the taking of a ready-made role may leave the setting relatively undisturbed, and thus much may remain unsaid."[171] So, when I met with students, I explained that I was a research student studying Ukrainian youth culture. I found that they could easily relate to me as a fellow student, and many of them had met other North American students who were studying at their university for a term or a year. However, I did not try fit in entirely, because I knew that as a North American I could not change the fact that I was different from them. In fact, they were interested in me because I was a foreigner. Whyte discovered that "people did not expect me to be just like them; in fact, they were interested and pleased to find me different, just so long as I took a friendly interest in them."[172]

The following chapter provides an outline of the visual and historical background of the research context.

---

[171] Ibid. p. 160.
[172] Whyte *Street corner society; the social structure of an Italian slum*. p. 304.

Chapter 3

Setting the Scene: The Visual History of Ukraine

Similar to Eck's findings in India, the data collected in Kiev indicated that Ukraine is a spiritually visual culture. However, before we proceed in the following chapter to a discussion of the findings, this chapter explores the development of visual culture in Ukraine. Below are three reasons why it is essential to gain a comprehensive understanding of the background of the Ukrainian cultural situation before attempting a discussion of the contemporary context.

First, icons were the primary visual art during most of Ukrainian history, and this is significant not only for Ukrainian art history, but also for the role that they played throughout the centuries in the spiritual life of the Ukrainian people.[173] Just as Eck discovered the importance of eyes in the spirituality of images in India, so Greek art historian Kostas Papaioannou observes that a unique attribute of the icon is that the subject and the contemplated object are fused, and the gaze of the depicted holy person draws the viewer into the space-reality of the icon.[174] He also points out that icons marked a transition from the Hellenistic focus on the body to an engagement with the eyes. In icons the body is enfolded in garments "above which rise countenances whose dilated eyes fill the space with a mysterious presence."[175] As we shall see, the visual has had a spiritual function manifested in icons for centuries. John of Damascus wrote in defence of icons "since we are fashioned of both soul and body, and our souls are not naked spirits, but are covered, as it were, with a fleshly veil, it is impossible for us to think without using physical images. Just as we physically listen to perceptible works in order to understand spiritual things, so also by using bodily sight we reach spiritual contemplation."[176] This chapter will show how these spiritual images arrived in the region of Ukraine and how their use became intertwined with pagan spiritual images, leaving an ongoing legacy of belief about the powers of icons.

---

[173] Stefania Hnatenko 1989 *Treasures of Early Ukrainian Art: Religious Art of the 16th-18th Centuries*, Translated by Skorupsky. New York: Ukrainian Museum. p. 6.
[174] Kostas Papaioannou 1965 *Byzantine and Russian Painting*. London: Heron Books. p. 46.
[175] Ibid. p. 26.
[176] St. John of Damascus St.John 2000 *On the Divine Images: Three Apologies Against Those Who Attack the Divine Images*, Translated by Anderson. Crestwood, NY: St Vladimir's Seminary Press. p. 72.

Second, an important element of spirituality is the search for a meaningful identity. National identity is an important aspect of self-understanding for Ukrainian young people. Although a sense of nationhood can be traced to the 10th century, Ukraine is a recently emerged nation. Historian Anna Reid writes, "with inspiring moments in their schizophrenic history few and far between, and neighbours who refuse to acknowledge the existence of such a thing as 'Ukrainian' history in the first place, it is no wonder that Ukrainians are still puzzling out just who they are, and just what sort of place they want their country to be."[177] Even though the history of the region is complicated, it is worth describing because it reveals the various aspects of religious, cultural and national identity that compete for prevalence in Ukrainian youth culture.

Third, the religious developments in the region are inextricably tied to historical developments. A description of the religious background aids in the comprehension of the complexity of the current religious situation, described later in the dissertation as part of the analysis of the contemporary spirituality of young people. The current chapter also traces the causes of the divisions within the Orthodox Church in Ukraine, and takes us some way toward understanding the opposing views of icons held by Protestants and Orthodox.

Therefore, this account of the development of Ukrainian visual culture is supported by religious and historical developments that are particularly relevant to the concerns of this dissertation. It should be noted here that the region now referred to as 'Ukraine' has spent most of its past split between other nations. Therefore, the documented history of Ukraine is an emotionally charged issue and varies widely according to who is doing the telling, with the various foreign rulers of Ukraine often writing their own versions of the region's history, according to their political interests. This chapter details historical information drawing as much as possible on historians who have aimed to present an unbiased account.[178]

---

[177] Anna Reid 1997 *Borderland: A Journey Through the History of Ukraine*. Guernsey: Guernsey Press Co Ltd. p. 2.

[178] It should be noted that the historical background included in the dissertation is perhaps more sympathetic to the Ukrainian situation than many Russian accounts of the history of the same region might be.

Pre-Christian Visual Context

Prehistoric art discovered in the Ukrainian region appears to consist of engraved mammoth tusks, female figurines, animal drawings and craved bracelets.[179] Archaeologists have discovered decorative arts and pagan artefacts pre-dating the 9th century. Early Christian frescoes dated from the 3rd century have been discovered in Crimea, most likely painted by the Greeks who had settled there at that time.

Most historians trace the beginnings of the Ukrainian nation back to ancient 'Rus.' *The Primary Chronicle*, a document based on oral traditions and possibly edited by a Kievan monk, Nestor, is the primary source of information about early Rus.[180] *The Chronicle* states, "after the flood, the sons of Noah (Shem, Ham and Japheth) divided the earth among them . . . to the lot of Japheth fell the northern and western sectors (including the land of Rus)."[181] Another theory is that the Rus were Vikings, Scandinavian Princes who migrated down to settle the Dnieper river area in the 9th century.[182] However, most reliable historians agree that in the 2nd century AD, the Antes tribal federation established the first Slavic culture.[183] They consisted of different tribes, each with its own chief and military.[184] Kiev was most likely built by the Antes, allegedly founding the city in AD 482. The Dnieper River linked the Baltic and Black seas, thus providing a trade route between Scandinavia and Byzantium. After some warfare, the Polianians, a tribe originating around the middle of the Dnieper, re-established the federation as Rus, some say as early as AD 560.[185] The word 'Ukraina', literally translated 'on the edge' or 'borderland', was not used until the 12th century, and at that time described the lands surrounding Kiev and the Dnieper river region.[186] From 860-1340 the region became

---

[179] Daria Zelska-Darewych 1991 'The Development of Ukrainian Painting', in Olya Marko (ed) *Spirit of Ukraine: 500 Years of Painting*, Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, pp. 13-24. p. 14.

[180] At this time there was little difference between historical writing and hagiography, which must be kept in mind when referring to documents such as the *Chronicle*. "Oral folk tradition pays scant attention to exact dating and to an orderly exposition of causes and consequences, and it remains ignorant of many broader factors . . ." See Sophia Senyk 1993 *A History of the Church in Ukraine*. Vol. 1, Rome: Pontificio Instituto Orientale. p. 35.

[181] As quoted in Andrews Wilson 2000 *The Ukrainians: Unexpected Nation*. London: Yale University Press., on p. 23.

[182] Bedwin Sands 1914 'The Ukraine: A lecture delivered on Ukrainian history and present-day political problems', London: Francis Griffiths. p. 23.

[183] Ann Lensyk Pawliczko 1994 *Ukraine and Ukrainians throughout the World*. London: Shevchenko Scientific Society, Inc. p. 54.

[184] V. A. Smoley 1998 *All About Ukraine*. Kiev: Alternativy Publishers. p. 206.

[185] Wilson *The Ukrainians: Unexpected Nation*. p. 32.

[186] Reid *Borderland: A Journey Through the History of Ukraine*. p. 13. The word 'Ukrainian' did not become commonly used until the end of the nineteenth century.

known as the kingdom of 'Kievan Rus'. The tribal traditions of land ownership were discarded by the 8th century, and the property inequality of community members caused the formation of a social hierarchy.[187]

By the twelfth century, Kievan Rus covered most of modern-day western and central Ukraine, most of modern Belarus and the western regions of present-day Russia. According to *The Chronicle*, in 882 Oleg, Prince of Novgorod, became the first monarch of Rus, making Kiev, 'the mother of Rus cities', and the capital of the new state.[188] A common system of government, the 'Law of Rus', was codified in the eleventh century, although there was no formal state administration in place. According to historian Andrew Wilson, the people of Rus were unified by "a common name, common enemies, a sense of territorial unity and elements of a common culture..."[189] Ivan Rudnytsky, a Ukrainian historian and scholar, writes that later a sense of nationhood was further developed through combining a predominantly Eastern, Byzantine religious and cultural tradition with a predominantly Western social and political structure.[190]

Christian Visual Religion: Icons

Advent of Icons

The word 'icon' literally means 'image'. From the beginning of the church, Christians expressed their religious beliefs through images. These images became an important part of the worship of the growing church as it extended into the Ukrainian region.

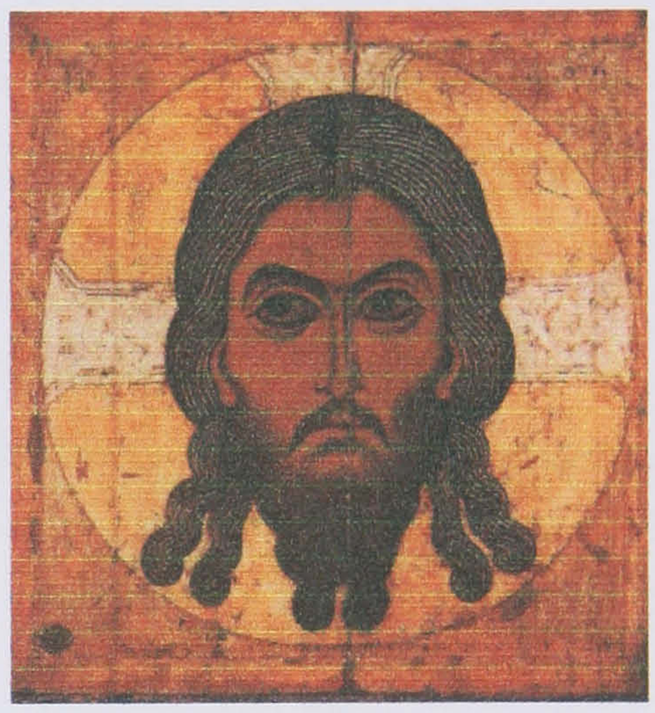
Most art historians associate the beginnings of art in the region with the conversion to Christianity. Art historian Tamara Rice argues that Vlodymyr's adoption of Eastern Christianity opened a gateway which was to lead the people of Rus to a new world of visual and spiritual creativeness.[191] These religious images came directly from Constantinople, therefore the development of the visual in Ukraine cannot be understood without reference to the influence of Byzantium. In 402 Constantinople had become the seat of the Emperor, and the city gradually became a centre for art. By the 7th century, icons had become the most popular form of art in Byzantium, from monumental icons

---

[187] Smoley *All About Ukraine*. p. 207.
[188] Ibid. p. 208.
[189] Wilson *The Ukrainians: Unexpected Nation*. p. 7.
[190] Peter I. Rudnytsky 1987 *Essays in Modern Ukrainian History by Ivan I. Rudnytsky*. Alberta: Harvard University Press. p. 8.
[191] Tamara Rice 1963 *A Concise History of Russian Art*. London: Thames and Hudson. p. 7.

adorning huge spaces in churches to miniatures used on bracelets and seals.[192] By the end of the 7th century, icons were used as weapons of war, paraded around the city walls to defend the inhabitants from the 'powers of darkness'.[193] The 8th and 9th centuries saw the iconoclast controversy, which forced the church to create strict guidelines for the creation of icons. It was at this point in the development of iconography that icons were carried to Rus.

Thus, the icons arrived in Rus with the Byzantine iconic canon and traditions firmly in place. According to *The Chronicles*, at the conversion of Volodymyr, portable icons were brought from Byzantium to Rus. Luidmilla Milyaeva, a Ukrainian art historian, writes that for monks in the Kiev region in the 10th century "collaboration with the Byzantines instilled in them a deep reverence for iconography, initiated them into the mysteries of the creative process, and taught them how to paint frescos, icons, and miniatures."[194] By the 11th century, mosaics, frescos and illuminated manuscripts from Kiev were already famous.[195] A few of these early images have been preserved on the walls of churches and in illuminated manuscripts.[196] These images closely followed the Byzantine style of frontal depiction, limited portrayal of depth, inverse perspective, elongation of human features and static composition. *(Pictured is a 12th century icon that demonstrates these typical features).* The composition, subject, and method of icon painting was highly controlled, and icon painters were not permitted to sign their work.



The visual landscape of Kiev was transformed at the advent of Christianity. Pagan temples and articles of worship were destroyed and Greek architects and artists were brought to Rus to build churches and fill them with icons. Thietmar of Mersebrug, who visited Kiev in 1018, wrote that there were almost 400 churches in Kiev at the time of his

---

[192] Papaioannou *Byzantine and Russian Painting*. p. 46.
[193] Ibid. p. 47.
[194] Luidmilla Milyaeva 1996 *The Ukrainian Icon. 11th - 18th Centuries. From Byzantine Sources to the Baroque.* Bournemouth: Parkstone Press. p. 6.
[195] Iryna Horbachova 1991 'Ukrainian Art of the 19th - Early 20th century', in Olya Marko (ed) *Spirit of Ukraine: 500 Years of Painting*, Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, pp. 35-37. p. 15.
[196] Daria Zelska-Darewych Ibid.'The Development of Ukrainian Painting', pp. 13-24. p. 15.

visit, only thirty years after the Prince Volodymyr's famous baptism of the people of Rus.[197]

The events leading to the Baptism and the advent of Christianity to the region are a subject of debate among historians. According to the writer of *The Chronicle*, in AD 55 Saint Andrew journeyed to the hills that would later become Kiev. "He prophesied about Kiev's founding and greatness, blessed the site, and planted a cross on top of one of the hills."[198] However, as church historian Sophia Senyk points out, this episode is qualified by the introductory phrase, 'as people say', indicating the writer's sensitivity to the possibility that the story is rooted in legend more than in fact.[199] Furthermore, in another work, Nestor stated that the land of Rus remained in idolatry until the reign of Volodymyr because "no apostles came to them, no one preached to them the word of God."[200] Wilson suggests that perhaps the legend of Saint Andrew's visit to Kiev persists because otherwise Christianity would have come significantly later to this land in comparison with its neighbours. "The idea that Andrew gave his privileged blessing to the Ukrainian soil is a central tenet of the modern Ukrainian Church."[201] In the 11th century, Vsevolod-Andrew, Prince of Kiev, built the church of Saint Andrew in Kiev in honour of the apostle. Later the legend was used in Ukraine by nationalists to arouse pride in the Ruthenian church, with its centre in Kiev.[202] In present day Ukraine, most people believe that Saint Andrew brought Christianity to Kiev.

However, it is most likely that when the gospel was proclaimed to the Greco-Roman world, it was preached in the coastal cities of Greek colonists in the region of Rus, established on the northern shores of the Black Sea in the 6th century. In the 9th century AD, Cyril and his brother Methodius took the gospel to Moravia and Bulgaria.[203] However, Christianity did not reach the Slavic inhabitants of Rus until much later. The people followed pagan religions, making sacrifices to the spirits of lakes, wells and woods. Ancient myths about the first plough, made by the gods in order to teach humans

---

[197] Rice *A Concise History of Russian Art*. p. 26.
[198] Senyk *A History of the Church in Ukraine*. p. 2.
[199] Ibid. p. 3.
[200] Ibid. p. 4.
[201] Wilson *The Ukrainians: Unexpected Nation*. p. 34.
[202] Senyk *A History of the Church in Ukraine*. p. 6.
[203] Timothy Ware 1993b *The Orthodox Church*. London: Penguin. p. 74. Cyril formed an alphabet for the Slavs and translated sacred texts into the Macedonian dialect, which later became Church Slavonic, the liturgical language of Slavonic Orthodox Churches.

how to till the land, have survived in folk tales.[204] The religion of the people followed the annual agricultural cycle, with rites in honour of minor deities and natural phenomena.[205]

Christianity did not take root in Rus until the end of the 10th century. Olha, widow of Rus prince Igor, was baptised in 955, becoming the first Christian ruler. However, her son, Svjatoslav, refused to convert to Christianity, although he gave everyone in his court the freedom to become a Christian if they desired.[206] After his death, his son Volodymyr became the King of Rus. He began his reign as a pagan, setting up a wooden statue of 'Perun', the god of thunder, on a hill beyond the site of his palace. It is believed that Perun was not an ancestral god of the Slavic people, but a foreign cult that Volodymyr promoted in order to unite the people.[207] Eventually he decided that paganism was not a strong enough religion to build a common national identity.[208] Therefore, according to *The Chronicle*, he sent out envoys to investigate the different major religions. He rejected Islam because he "was fond of women and indulgence" and he would not become Jewish since he could not bear the thought of circumcision or fasting from pork.[209] Although he investigated the Roman branch of Christianity, he chose Byzantine Orthodoxy, after his emissaries reported that "the Greeks led us to the edifices where they worship their God, and we knew not whether we were in heaven or on earth. For on earth there is no such splendour or beauty, and we are at a loss how to describe it. We only know that God dwells there among men, and their service is fairer than the ceremonies of other nations."[210]

Although this story is widely believed by most Ukrainians, it is most likely a legend told by hagiographers. According to Senyk, the decision to adopt Christianity was entirely motivated by political concerns. The Greek Emperor, Basil II, sent envoys to ask for Prince Volodymyr's military aid in securing his empire from revolt. In exchange for Volodymyr's help he would give him his sister, Anna, to be his wife. This marriage was a great advantage to Volodymry since it established him as a legitimate monarch in

---

[204] Senyk *A History of the Church in Ukraine*. p. 13.
[205] Ibid. p. 14.
[206] Ibid. p. 34.
[207] Archaeologists have unearthed a pagan temple in the centre of Kiev which they believed may be dated to the late 10th century, surrounded by burnt animal remains. Ibid. p. 15.
[208] Michael Rowe 1994 *Russian Resurrection: Strength in Suffering: A History of Russia's Evangelical Church*. London: Marshall Pickering. p. 3.
[209] Wilson *The Ukrainians: Unexpected Nation*. p. 41.
[210] Reid *Borderland: A Journey Through the History of Ukraine*. p. 9.

international politics. However, a condition of the marriage was that Volodymyr should be baptised as a Christian.[211] After the military campaign and his baptism and wedding, Volodymyr brought priests and icons from Constantinople back to Kiev with him. There he pulled down the pagan idols that he had erected at the beginning of his reign and built the church of Saint Basil on the hill that had served as the chief site of the worship of Perun. In 988 he called all the people of Kiev, regardless of social class, to come to the Dnieper River to be baptised. After the Baptism, churches were built and a common liturgy was developed for use in all the churches. The alphabet devised by Cyril was used to translate the Bible into the Slavonic language.

The church in Rus looked to Byzantium as its model not only for church architecture and religious art, but also for forms of worship, monasticism, church organization and discipline. The first hierarch of Kiev was sent by Constantinople at the time of the Baptism. In 1039 the church of Saint Sophia in Kiev was consecrated as the cathedral of the church of Rus. By 1054 episcopal sees were established in Kiev, Bilhorod, Pereiaslav, and Jurev and monasteries began to appear throughout the region.[212] For the most part, from the inception of the church in Rus until the Mongol invasion in 1240, Constantinople continued to nominate and send Greeks as the metropolitans of the see of Rus, and only after this time were the bishops and monks natives of Rus. Saint Anthony founded a monastery in caves on the outskirts of Kiev, which came to be the most influential monastery in that region.[213]

Orthodoxy overlays Paganism

The spread of Christianity happened slowly, first in larger towns, then gradually reaching the people of the countryside. Although there is little written evidence regarding the rate of the spread of Christianity, according to Senyk, the general pattern can be discerned through a study of burial rituals. Graves with cremated bodies, grave goods and valuables indicate a pagan burial, while inhumation accompanied by a small icon reveals that Christian rites were used. In the 10th century, only pagan graves were found, but the 11th and the beginning of the 12th centuries show a transition from pagan to Christian burial rituals, as grave goods and barrows gradually were no longer used. From the mid-12th

---

[211] Senyk *A History of the Church in Ukraine*. p. 65.
[212] Ibid. p. 160.
[213] Ware *The Orthodox Church*. p. 79.

century on, only Christian graves have been discovered.[214] Furthermore, the farther from the centre of Rus, the later came the transition to Christian burials patterns. Additionally, even when these rites were adopted in a town, the surrounding countryside kept pagan burial rituals for many years.

But the transition to Christianity may have been less of a conversion and more of an incorporation into existing, pagan beliefs. Senyk noted that throughout Rus, churches were built on sites of pagan worship, a common practice in other European countries that underwent Christianisation. According to Senyk, using the locations where people had traditionally gathered for spiritual celebrations facilitated the transition to Christian worship.[215] This practice does lead one to wonder what the people thought was happening at the time. Senyk observes there is no evidence of an attempt to educate the people through sermons, especially since most priests also lacked religious education. [216] When the people attended services, there was little religious education available to them, apart from the liturgy, which was in a different dialect and full of theological vocabulary. Senyk explains, "Above all, they were not sufficiently instructed to grasp essential differences between Christianity and their old pagan religion: prayer versus charms, veneration of saints versus belief in protective divinities, Christian liturgy versus magical rites."[217] She argues that people who had not received instruction in the Christian faith could not be expected to perceive the inconsistency of Christian faith with essentially pagan practices. Furthermore, Senyk writes, "The inclusion of charms of incontestable pagan origin in liturgical books… proves that even the clergy could reconcile them with Christian beliefs."[218]

Senyk describes an example of this syncretism found in an archaeological discovery of large medallions made of copper or bronze, on one side portraying a Christian figure (a saint or the Virgin and Child) and on the other a human head with a coil of snakes for hair, the image of Medusa, borrowed from the Greeks. Archaeologists believe that people wore them as talismans and believed that they offered protection against evil. This amulet demonstrates the combination of superstitious beliefs and practices which mixed with

---

[214] Senyk *A History of the Church in Ukraine*. p. 185.
[215] Ibid. p. 24.
[216] Ibid. p. 189.
[217] Ibid. p. 189.
[218] Ibid. p. 194.

Christianity. Senyk concludes, "A direct consequence of the shortcomings or downright absence of instruction in the Christian religion was the tendency to see religion mainly as a set of external observances, hence to overlook the application of Christian teachings to personal behaviour and social relations."[219]

Furthermore, this dualism between Orthodox faith and paganism can be seen in the way that the Christian canon of saints and apostles was laid over the traditions surrounding the many and varied gods of the pre-Christian era. Wilson observes "much of the symbolism and ritual surrounding [pagan] gods transferred into the Christian pantheon. The festival of Perun became that of the prophet Elijah, master of the elements; Mokosha became St Parasceve; harvest and midsummer festivals became the Christian celebrations of Nativity and the birth of St John the Baptist."[220] Some historians have argued that paganism and Christianity coexisted throughout the Rus region in a kind of dualism until the 13th century, drawing attention to the signs and pagan symbols in Kiev's St Sofia as evidence of this dualism. These range from swastikas, six-pointed stars, tridents and discs with sunrays. In a later chapter we will see that this dualism is still operates on some levels today.[221]

Christianity promoted the spread of literacy in Rus, with its sacred texts and use of books for worship. Additionally, Senyk notes that with a culture of literacy came writing and historical memory. "The Christian cult, together with architecture, iconography, music, and other expressions of religious culture, uniform in its fundamentals throughout Rus, helped to weld together the Rus state despite its ethnic and cultural differences and to promote a sense of unity."[222] Thus, as Orthodox Bishop Kallistos Ware writes, "the Slavs were Christianised and civilized at the same time."[223]

By the end of the 11th century, churches were being built with the distinctive 'onion' shaped dome better suited to the Ukrainian winters and settling snow than the Byzantine

---

[219] Ibid. p. 203.
[220] Wilson *The Ukrainians: Unexpected Nation.* p. 37.
[221] Additionally, it is interesting that recently a few extreme nationalists have called for a return to the pagan past. Lev Sylenko formed the neo pagan religion RUNVira, or the 'Native Ukrainian Popular Faith' in 1968, which in 1998 had 35 branches in Ukraine. See Ibid. p. 37.
[222] Senyk *A History of the Church in Ukraine.* p. 75.
[223] Ware *The Orthodox Church.* p. 77.

rounded dome.[224] Over time the Byzantine models were developed and modified into a unique 'Byzantine-Ukrainian' style of religious art that was dominant until the 17th and 18th centuries, and later influenced artists in the 20th century.[225]

The 12th century saw the beginnings of the disintegration of the Rus state, with the single centralised monarchy changing to a more federative monarchy.[226] In 1169 Andriy Bogoluibsky, Prince of the city of Vladimir, attacked and destroyed much of Kiev in an internal dispute over power. Many Ukrainian historians agree that this is when the Russian nation developed and began to pull away from what they term 'Ukraine-Rus.'[227]

Faith Under Mongol Rule

In 1237 the Mongols began a full-scale invasion of Rus, with the rapid fall of Kolomna, Moscow, Vladimir, Suzdal and other major cities in 1238. After enduring several weeks of siege, Kiev fell on 6 December 1240.

According to Papaioannou, very little art was produced during the time of the Mongol occupation and almost none has survived. He also writes that many icons were destroyed and there was little development of the iconic style.[228] On the other hand, according to Ukrainian art historian Stefania Hnatenko, during this time ornamental Ukrainian folk art continued to be produced, primarily used to decorate clothes, cloths, furniture and other items.[229]

Until the mid-14th century, the Mongols allowed the princes of Rus to remain in power but forced them to pay tribute. This rule from afar provided a certain amount of stability to the region, ensuring that the warring princes had to concentrate on dealing with the Mongols and not fighting each other. The Mongols also respected the Orthodox Church and guaranteed its existing rights, exempting it from taxes. Furthermore, historian Paul Magocsi notes that the occupation had some positive affects for the church, since "not only did the church increase its wealth, it also was finally able to complete the process of

---

[224] Rice *A Concise History of Russian Art*. p. 49.
[225] Zelska-Darewych 'The Development of Ukrainian Painting', p. 15.
[226] Smoley *All About Ukraine*. p. 213.
[227] Of course, this is an interpretation of history favoured by Ukrainian historians. Many Russians believe that the reverse is true – that the kingdom of Rus was the seed of Russia, and Ukraine's separation from it has only occurred in the last century.
[228] Papaioannou *Byzantine and Russian Painting*. p. 71.
[229] Hnatenko *Treasures of Early Ukrainian Art: Religious Art of the 16th-18th Centuries*. p. 6.

Christianisation, began 'officially' in the late 10th century but made effective in the far-flung countryside only as Orthodoxy expanded its influence under Mongol rule in the late 13th century."[230] The Orthodox Church became a major force in holding the region together, while the Mongols diffused the power of the Kievan Rus princes.

During this time, the Patriarch was appointed by the Muslim Sultan, and given both ecclesiastical and political administrative powers, thus changing the role of the church in society quite significantly. According to historian Michael Rowe, "the Church survived and enshrined the very idea of the nation, keeping alive not just faith but the nation itself under foreign domination. The bond between Church and nation was forged in this period of oppression far more strongly than by princely decree or even the missionary endeavours of the Church."[231] Ware agrees that the Mongol system of giving certain roles to the church, called the 'millet' system, contributed towards the confusion between Orthodoxy and nationalism, which has left a long legacy of problems for the church that continue to the present day.[232] On the other hand, these Islamic policies enabled the ecclesiastical structure to remain intact, including the appointments of priests, bishops and metropolitans.

Nevertheless, over time, Mongol rule stifled the Orthodox Church and the practice of Christianity. After the fall of the Byzantine Empire, Greek and Ukrainian theology and education declined drastically. Ukrainian historian Borys Gudzëiak, writing about this period of Ukrainian history, quotes a 16th century Orthodox scholar who wrote, "after losing the empire we lost our learning. Having lived amongst the barbarians so long, we have become barbarians ourselves."[233] Gudzëiak argues that at that time the Catholic and Protestant West were moving forward while the Greek Church in Constantinople and Kiev was stagnating under Ottoman rule.[234]

---

[230] Paul R. Magocsi 1996 *A History of Ukraine*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. p. 110.
[231] Rowe *Russian Resurrection: Strength in Suffering: A History of Russia's Evangelical Church*. p. 6.
[232] Ware *The Orthodox Church*. p. 89.
[233] Borys Gudzëiak 1998 'Crisis and reform : the Kyivan Metropolitanate, the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the Genesis of the Union of Brest', Cambridge, MA: Ukrainian Research Institute, Harvard University : Distributed by Harvard University Press. p. 12.
[234] According to Gudzëiak there was a stark difference between the development of Christianity in the West than in the East: "At a time when Christian Europe was mobilised to reform and to address the particular needs and circumstances of the age, the Orthodox never developed momentum, the critical mass of resources, or the leadership needed to initiate and promote a movement of revitalization." Ibid. p. 40.

Development of Ukrainian iconic style

By the 14th century, Byzantium was sinking under Turkish influence and the regions of modern-day Ukraine and Russia were liberated from the Mongols. A unique culture and iconic style was free to develop during this time. According to Papaioannou, those depicted in icons were no longer solemn and detached, but became humanised, expressing emotions with their faces, gestures and stance.[235] Rice writes that a "deeply emotional forcefulness of expression" was achieved by the shading and lightening on the face but also strong lines around the eyes that looked out at the viewer.[236] Rice gives as an example the famous 'tenderness' icon, 'Our Lady of Vladimir', *(pictured)* which she argues demonstrates through the gentle touch of the Virgin's face with the Child's this movement toward the human and emotional side of representing those pictured in icons. Additionally, Rice notes that this icon was used as a proto-type for countless other icons of the Mother of God in Rus, remaining true to Byzantine forms, but capturing a human element in the depiction of holy people.[237] The iconostasis was developed in the 14th century, encouraging more paintings of icons, particularly those of the holy feast days. The iconostasis served as the focal point of the interior of a church, composed of icons mounted in rows on horizontal crosspieces. Rice asserts that the development of the iconostas caused painters to use colours more boldly, because each section needed to stand out as a composition itself. "On quite close examination it became imperative for each scene, each personage, each individual face to exercise its own magic, dispensing encouragement and comfort to each worshiper."[238]

Division of the Region

The visual affect of the Renaissance was not apparent in Ukraine until the 16th century, and then was influential primarily in Western Ukraine, which at that time was ruled by Poland. Gradually, icons became less rigid and took on a more realistic style of depicting anatomy and space. In the Eastern regions, artists in the Russian Empire were also increasingly exposed to Western works of art, but prevented by the church from

---

[235] Papaioannou *Byzantine and Russian Painting*. p. 69.
[236] Rice *A Concise History of Russian Art*. p. 63.
[237] Ibid. p. 38.
[238] Ibid. p. 70.

embracing the new forms, techniques and concepts. In 1551 the Council of a Hundred Chapters declared old icons and Greek icons to be canonical, in an attempt to correct and direct iconographers' work. Nevertheless, the influence of the West was felt, and gradually icon painting became freer in style, and, in Papaioannou's opinion, became more religious art than iconic.[239] By the end of the 16th century, icons were sometimes gilded or encased in ornamental engravings, *(example pictured)* differentiating Ukrainian icons from those originating in Russia.[240]

From the 14th to the 16th century the region existed between the two major powers in Eastern Europe: Russia and Poland. During this time, in the region that is now the nations of Ukraine and Belarus, the people became known as 'Ruthenians'.[241] This is an important phase of Ukrainian history, because the political separation of the region led to religious divisions. These fractures are worth examining because they shed light on current religious and political divisions still evidenced between Eastern and Western Ukraine.

From 1362 to 1569, southern Rus was ruled by Lithuania. According to British historian Bedwin Sands, Ukraine had been weakened by the invasions of the Mongols, which gave the growing Lithuanian Empire the opening they needed to control the region.[242] The Ukrainians were given great freedom under the Lithuanians to choose their own leader, the Hetman, who was elected via the general assembly, a group that had a very large share in the administration and the government of the region.[243] Professor Dnistrianskyj characterises the Ukrainians at that time as a people with a constitution, "striving for liberty and equality of all citizens", especially in contrast to the neighbouring Polish aristocracy and the Russian people's subservience to the Tsar.[244] But the Lithuanian Empire could not protect the Ukrainians against the Mongols, who were constantly a

---

[239] Papaioannou *Byzantine and Russian Painting*. p. 96.
[240] Hnatenko *Treasures of Early Ukrainian Art: Religious Art of the 16th-18th Centuries*. p. 12.
[241] Bohdan Nahaylo 1999 *The Ukrainian Resurgence*. London: Hurst & Company. p. 2.
[242] Sands 'The Ukraine: A lecture delivered on Ukrainian history and present-day political problems'. p. 26.
[243] "The Land and the People of Ukraine" in *The Ukraine*, Ukrainian Press Bureau, Aug. 9, 1919, p. 5.
[244] This became an important distinction for the Ukrainian sense of identity as a people who were self governing. Stanislaus Dnistrianskyj 1919a 'Ukraina and the Peace Conference', *The Ukrainian Problems*(6): 40-73.

threat via Crimea. This led to the formation of the 'Cossacks',[245] armed horsemen, who grew in numbers and banded together to resist the frequent invasions.

Galician Rus was occupied by Poland in the 1340s, and in 1569 Poland also gained control of southern Rus from the Lithuanians at the Union of Lublin, making Poland the major power of the region. In the years following, the Ruthenian nobility adopted many Polish characteristics and cultural traditions. Some scholars believe that if the Cossack revolt had not taken place in 1648, all of the Ruthenian nation would have been subsumed into Poland. However, eventually the Catholic Church began to exert more influence over the Polish state, causing resistance on the part of the Orthodox Ruthenian aristocracy.[246] At the beginning of the 17th century, Petro Mohyla, the Kiev metropolitan, worked to bring revival to the Orthodox faith through a programme of modernisation of the church's liturgy and religious education. According to Wilson, this led to a revival of local Orthodox practice of faith which, in turn, began to awaken a sense of national identity – a people with a faith unique from Catholic Poles, but with a vibrant Orthodoxy different from the more traditional Russians.[247]

During this time, the Cossacks grew in number, as people joined them from all over Muscovy and Ruthenia, fleeing serfdom and seeking the free lifestyle for which the Cossacks became famous. They lived in the open steppe and established farming communities there, free from the rule of Poland, Muscovy and the Turks.[248] Mostly of humble origin, they were united by their common Orthodox faith and sought to re-establish Orthodoxy in those regions and dislodge the 'Catholic oppressors'. They formed their own military-political organisation, 'Zaporozhian Sich', which was essentially a democracy because they elected all their military leaders.[249] In 1648, led by Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky, the Cossacks rebelled against Polish rule and took control of most of the region, including Kiev, Bratslav and Chernihiv. They formed three Hetmanates, which despite their power, did not manage to form a state, consisting instead of flexible borders, with no common currency and no legal system. Eventually Khmelnytsky sought an alliance to protect the region against the Polish threat to retake Ukrainian territories

---

[245] The word 'cossack' literally means 'free man'.
[246] Smoley *All About Ukraine*. p. 217.
[247] Wilson *The Ukrainians: Unexpected Nation*. p. 56.
[248] Nahaylo *The Ukrainian Resurgence*. p. 3.
[249] Smoley *All About Ukraine*. p. 218.

and the menace of Tartar invasion. He negotiated with Poland, Turkey, Transylvania, Sweden and Russia. Finally, in 1654 he signed the 'Pereiaslav' treaty with the Russian tsar, hoping that this alliance would unite the Orthodox people against the Catholic and Islamic threat, but would give the fullest autonomy to the Ukrainian Cossack state.[250]

However, the Ruthenians regretted the alliance when they recognised the tsar's ambition to expand the Russian Empire. Hence in 1709, Hetman Ivan Mazepa sided with Sweden against the Russian Tsar, Peter the Great, at the Battle of Poltava, and was decidedly defeated. This defeat brought what Wilson calls 'the Ruthenian-Cossack experiment in quasi-statehood' to an end.[251] Russia then occupied central Ukraine west of the Dnieper, but the region of Galicia fell to the Habsburgs. The Hetmanate state system continued to function until the second half of the 17th century, when the Russian government began to limit and later liquidated the Cossack military-political government.[252]

The Ruthenians who lived under the rule of the Habsburgs struggled between being assimilated and maintaining their own identity. According to Ukrainian historian Pawliczko, most of the peasants retained their Ruthenian identity and held onto the remains of the Cossack ideals.[253] In the 1830s the Polish revolt against the Habsburgs alienated the Ruthenians, who resented the Poles' assumption that they would support them in revolt. In 1848 the Ruthenians staged their own revolt and set up the 'Supreme Ruthenian Council' which declared that they were 'part of a great Ruthenian people that speak the same language and numbers 15 million, of whom two and a half million live in Galicia'.[254] This statement demonstrates how the Ruthenians had begun to identify again with the 'Rus' people of the east as opposed to the Austrians and Poles. By 1900 they referred to themselves and their kindred in the western part of the Russian Empire as 'Ukrainians', a name popularised by poet Taras Shevchenko[255] and easily differentiated from 'Russians'.[256]

---

[250] Dnistrianskyj described this treaty as a "spontaneous alliance of two independent states." Dnistrianskyj 'Ukraina and the Peace Conference'. p. 44.
[251] Wilson *The Ukrainians: Unexpected Nation*. p. 66.
[252] Smoley *All About Ukraine*. p. 235.
[253] Pawliczko *Ukraine and Ukrainians throughout the World*. p. 58.
[254] Wilson *The Ukrainians: Unexpected Nation*. p. 106.
[255] 1814-61
[256] In 1918 there was a movement in this region to establish a new state and the leaders significantly called themselves the 'Republic of the People of West Ukraina.' See Dnistrianskyj 'Ukraina and the Peace Conference'. p. 59.

Division of the Church

The national divisions and shifts in power took their toll on the church. The 'Great Schism' had occurred in the 11th century, dividing the Roman see from Constantinople, foreshadowing the beginning of political and ecclesiastical disputes that would divide Christendom. The ecclesiastical province of Kievan Rus was first divided at the beginning of the fourteenth century, separating the Ruthenian region from the Muscovite portion of the metropolitanate. This move was sanctioned by the patriarch of Constantinople in 1458. Until the 18th century, the metropolitanate continued to exist as two separate entities, each looking either to Kiev or Moscow as their centre.[257]

At the beginning of the 15th century, the Kiev Metropolitanate, although remaining faithful to the patriarchs of Constantinople, needed to establish contacts with the Western Church in order to secure their own survival. Leaders of the Orthodox Church in Kiev attended the church council held in Florence in 1439. There, the Kiev Metropolitan Isydor signed the 'Union' with Rome, a document that emphasised the equality of the Eastern and Western rites. Returning to Kiev, the hierarchs announced "there is no difference in Christ between the Greeks and Romans, as they are essentially the same and all baptized in the name of Jesus Christ must live in accordance with their own tradition."[258] However, not long after, some Muscovite Orthodox leaders proclaimed that the region's subjugation to the Mongols was a divine judgement for compromising with the 'heretical' Roman church.[259] In fact, disagreement over the accord with Rome and the council of Florence prompted the Muscovites to appoint their own metropolitan in 1448.[260]

By the end of the 16th century, the Kiev metropolitanate was in decline. A traveller observed in 1595, "cattle, mares, dogs and pigsties defile what was once Kiev's golden-domed St Sophia Cathedral; rain water penetrating through the leaky roof has destroyed much of its rich decorated interior."[261] None of the Kiev metropolitans resided in Kiev and instead took refuge in the more secure nation of Lithuania. The hierarchy had become passive and religious education and the training of clergy decreased. In the regions ruled by Poland, the Orthodox Church was considered second-rate and ridiculed, a sharp

---

[257] Senyk *A History of the Church in Ukraine*. p. v.
[258] Klara Gudzyk 2001 'Union as a result of Church Crisis', *The Day*(8). p. 2
[259] Gudzëiak 'Crisis and reform : the Kyivan Metropolitanate, the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the Genesis of the Union of Brest'. p. 14.
[260] Ibid. p. 45.
[261] Gudzyk 'Union as a result of Church Crisis'. p. 3.

contrast to the previous respect of the medieval artistic and literary attainments of the church of Rus. This situation endured for the next two centuries. The Catholic rulers controlled the appointment of Orthodox priests and bishops, most who were merely laymen capable of reading the liturgy. According to church historian Borys Gudzëiak, "contemporary sources bemoan the illiteracy and spiritual darkness of the faithful whose assimilation of Christian teachings remained superficial."[262] The Kiev see received little support from the Ottoman ruled Patriarchate in Constantinople.

However, Christian renewal came through the work of Prince Konstantyn of Ostrih, a wealthy Polish landowner and an Orthodox Ruthenian prince. He believed that both Roman Catholicism and Orthodoxy were equally good and to promote his views, he founded a religious centre, 'The Ostrih Circle.' He built a printing shop that produced four thousand copies of the 'Ostrih Bible' in Slavonic in 1581. This was the first complete Slavonic version of the Bible and was a great achievement at that time. According to Gudzëiak, the project to publish the Bible in Church Slavonic was most likely inspired by the new emphasis in Europe on reading the Scriptures.[263] Ivan Fedorov, a Muscovite and a member of the Ostrih Circle, wrote in the Bible's preface of a "yearning for all people to be saved by the grace of the good God, and to come to the knowledge of truth and render devout glory to the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit."[264] Furthermore, it is interesting to note that much of the religious printing at that time took place in response to the perceived threat of Protestant heresies. Fedorov wrote in the preface to a book of sermons on the Gospels that he published:

> "For many Christians have been shaken in their faith by new and diverse teachings, have become ferocious in their opinions, and have turned away from the uniform harmony of those living in faith. Therefore, [we have given them the Homiliary Gospels] in order that they may right themselves by the reading of this book, and be led to the path of truth."[265]

In the mid-1570s the Ostrih Circle also formed the first institution of higher education in East Slavic territory. Along with the inventions of the printing press and the publishing of the Ostrih Bible, new forms of visual art developed such as front pieces and engravings.

---

[262] Gudzëiak 'Crisis and reform : the Kyivan Metropolitanate, the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the Genesis of the Union of Brest'. p. 64.
[263] Ibid. p. 127.
[264] Ibid. p. 121.
[265] Ibid. p. 108.

Monks within the Kiev Lauvra Monastery engraved icons into books that served as models for icon painters.[266]

Ruthenian hierarchs began to realise that in comparison with the west, the Kievan church needed to reform theologically, intellectually, culturally and administratively. Bishops began to dream of building religious schools, hospitals and publishing houses. The Ruthenian church also felt that the Protestant Reformation posed a threat, but they received no support from Constantinople to combat this new ecclesiology. Thus, this estrangement from Constantinople and the desire to reform caused the Orthodox Church leaders to look again for outside support. Gudzëiak writes, "desperate, weak, and disoriented, and, ultimately, mindful of the biblical imperative of unity, the Ruthenian hierarchs began to pursue integration with one of their adversaries."[267] The Ruthenian bishops sent a document to Rome called 'The Articles Pertaining to Union with the Roman Church' on 11 June 1595, which outlined the need for reform and the details of what a union would entail.

Rome never formally responded to the articles, but accepted the Ruthenian Church's right to maintain their 'sacred rites' as long as they did not contradict the Roman Church. This led to the formation of the 'Uniate' or 'Greek Catholic' Church at the Union of Brest in 1596, with six of the eight bishops present voting in favour of the Union. They retained their own administration and continued to use the traditional Church Slavonic liturgy, coming under the authority of the Pope only in matters of faith and morals. It is worth noting that at the time of the signing of the Union of Brest, the Moscow Patriarchate did not lay any claims on the Kiev Metropolitanate. It was not until 1620 that the Moscow Church Council explicitly condemned the Union of Brest.

Over time, a sharp division grew between the 'Uniates' and other church leaders who refused to be part of the Union with Rome. The Ruthenian bishops could not have known that while working towards unity, they were actually causing a lasting division within the Kievan patriarchate. Although many contemporary Orthodox Ukrainians look upon this agreement with the Roman Catholics as treason against their nationality, Wilson points out that at the time, "the Ruthenian bishops saw the Uniate compromise as the best deal

---

[266] Zelska-Darewych 'The Development of Ukrainian Painting', p. 16.
[267] Gudzëiak 'Crisis and reform : the Kyivan Metropolitanate, the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the Genesis of the Union of Brest'. p. 209.

obtainable and could in many ways present it as a reprise of the ecumenical aims of the Union of Florence and earlier contacts between the Rus and Rome."[268] Gudzëiak argues that Jeremiah, the patriarch of Constantinople at the time of the Union of Brest, may well have encouraged the move, due in part to his inability to support the churches because of the Ottoman rule and his own good relationships with Catholic church leaders.[269] Gudzëiak also argues that the Kievan church leaders saw that their church was in crisis, and opted to try to bring back the spiritual vitality of the church through change. Additionally, as Nahaylo explains, the Uniate Church eventually played an important role as a custodian and reviver of Ukrainian national identity.[270]

At the end of the 16th century, with Constantinople ruled by the Ottoman Empire, and the Kiev metropolitanate under the control of the Latvian-Polish Commonwealth, the Muscovite patriarch grew in power as the only metropolitanate in a nation with an Orthodox ruler. De facto autocephalous since 1453 when the Muscovite church rejected the Union of Florence and appointed their own patriarch, Moscow began to see itself as the 'third Rome'.[271] The Grand Duke of Moscow began to be known as the 'tsar' (adaptation of the title 'Caesar') and used the formerly Byzantine symbol of the double-headed eagle as his state emblem.[272] In 1510 Philotheus of Pskov, a Muskovite monk, wrote these words to the tsar:

> "I wish to add a few words on the present Orthodox Empire of our ruler: he is on earth the sole Emperor [Tsar] of the Christians, the leader of the Apostolic Church which stands no longer in Rome or in Constantinople, but in the blessed city of Moscow. She alone shines in the whole world brighter than the sun…"[273]

During this time, the patriarchs of Constantinople began to regularly send emissaries to Moscow to ask for financial support. In 1589, when the patriarch of Constantinople travelled to Moscow to collect money for the Church, he was detained by the powerful tsar and pressurised to elevate the metropolitanate of Moscow to the patriarchate.[274]

---

[268] Wilson *The Ukrainians: Unexpected Nation*. p. 50.
[269] Gudzëiak 'Crisis and reform : the Kyivan Metropolitanate, the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the Genesis of the Union of Brest'. p. 242.
[270] Nahaylo *The Ukrainian Resurgence*. p. 7.
[271] Natalia Polonska-Vasylenko 1968 *Two Conceptions of the History of Ukraine and Russia*. London: Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain. p. 18.
[272] Ware *The Orthodox Church*. p. 103.
[273] As quoted in Ibid. p. 103.
[274] Gudzëiak 'Crisis and reform : the Kyivan Metropolitanate, the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the Genesis of the Union of Brest'. p. 186.

Under the Russian Empire

The Russian Empire expanded into the Ukrainian region, initially through the church in 1686, when leadership of the see of Kiev was passed from Constantinople to Moscow.[275] Then, by 1775 Russia had succeeded in taking state authority from the Cossacks, thus ending the autonomy guaranteed to Ukrainians in the Treaty of Pereiaslav.[276] Tsar Peter I[277] named the region 'Little Russia' and began a campaign to wipe out Ukrainian culture, prohibiting Ukrainian literature and by 1720 banning the printing of books in the Ukrainian language.[278] Artists were forced to go to St Petersburg to join the Academy of Art, depriving Ukraine of many of its best artists. Eventually, by the 18th century, the distinctive Ukrainian culture of the 17th century was almost entirely destroyed by absorption into Russian society.

Extending his territory was not enough for the tsar – Peter the Great did not want to share his power with the church. At the end of the 17th century, Nikon, Patriarch of Moscow, proclaimed that the Patriarch's authority in religious affairs was absolute, attempting to extend his authority to include civil affairs. However, Peter deposed Nikon and ensured that there would be no further threat to his power by enacting laws to severely limit the powers of the church.[279] In 1721, he issued the 'Spiritual Regulation', declaring that the patriarchate was abolished and replaced with a commission, the Holy Synod, composed of twelve people including bishops, monks and clergy. Peter modelled the Synod on Protestant ecclesiastical synods in Germany, and retained the right to appoint and dismiss synod members at will. He not only eliminated the patriarchate, but also closed many monasteries and put stern restrictions on the social work of the remaining monks and nuns. Later, under Catherine II's[280] campaign of Russification in Ruthenia, the Kiev Orthodox metropolitanate was stripped of its autonomy and forced to submit to the Synod's leadership in Moscow. At the same time the Uniate church was suppressed and almost ceased to exist in eastern Ukraine, but survived in the west under the metropolitan of Lviv. By the end of the 19th century, not only the nation but also the church had been 'Russified', since most of the hierarchs and clergy in Ukraine were Russians.[281] By the

---

[275] Ware *The Orthodox Church*. p. 103.
[276] Smoley *All About Ukraine*. p. 242.
[277] Ruled 1682-1725.
[278] Dnistrianskyj 'Ukraina and the Peace Conference'. p. 47.
[279] Ware *The Orthodox Church*. p. 114.
[280] Ruled 1762-96
[281] Ware *The Orthodox Church*. p. 124.

middle of the 19th century, the nobility had become Russified and the country peasants were the only people to retain a folk tradition. Thus, the term 'Ukrainian' came to refer to the poor farmers who lived in the countryside.[282]

Through the Academy of Art in Saint Petersburg, the tsar demanded adherence to classical styles and tried to restrict visual influences from Western Europe. By the end of the 18th century, artists became increasingly discontented with the tsar's strict control of the arts. A group of artists left the academy and became known as the 'Wanderers'. There were many Ukrainians in their number; most notably Repin, Kuiindzhi, Kuznetsov and Kostandi. These artists became increasingly aware of the social problems in the Russian Empire, and sought to depict what they called the 'real' situation, a style that eventually developed into what is now referred to as 'social realism'.

During this time of state enforced repression of the Orthodox Church, many intellectuals became unbelievers. However, the 19th century saw Protestantism grow in Ukraine. By the beginning of the century, there were many German villages scattered across Ukraine, consisting mainly of Mennonites and Lutherans. At this time, several travelling preachers, influenced by Pietism, encouraged meetings for Bible study and prayer, and brought a revival of sorts to the Reformed Germans.[283] In the 1820s a Scottish Presbyterian missionary, William Melville, distributed the Bible to people all over the region of Ukraine, eventually setting up a base in Odessa under the auspices of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Around the same time, Tsar Alexander I became an avid reader of the Bible and established the Russian Bible Society. At first the Bible was distributed in Slavonic, but many people found this language difficult to understand. After several attempts and many objections from Orthodox Church leaders, the entire Bible was published in Russian in 1876.[284] German farmers began to allow their Orthodox peasant workers to attend their Bible study meetings.

---

[282] In fact, when tsarist Russia started an intentional program of Russification, they overlooked the Ukrainian peasants, assuming that they were already Russians. Wilson argues that this oversight, and the fact that Russian ideals could not reach these people through their education because they remained illiterate, was part of what kept the Ukrainian identity just barely alive during this time. Wilson *The Ukrainians: Unexpected Nation*. p. 79.

[283] Rowe *Russian Resurrection: Strength in Suffering: A History of Russia's Evangelical Church*. p. 10.

[284] Ibid. p. 14. Orthodox Church leaders stated that the translation was only for private study to aid understanding, and not for use in worship.

Eventually, the Bible became available to both rich and poor Ukrainians. It is estimated that by 1867 three hundred Ukrainians regularly held meetings to study the Bible, eventually becoming known as 'Stundists'.[285] They continued with Orthodox worship and practice of the sacraments until about 1870, when they were accused by Orthodox priests of disrespecting icons. In May 1870, Osnova Stundists brought their icons to the priest and officially broke with the Orthodox Church. By the 1880s a German Baptist pastor from Odessa, August Liebing, began to ordain the leaders of Stundist groups. Eventually, many Stundist groups identified themselves as Baptist. These non-German Protestant groups grew quickly: in 1881 there were over a thousand Baptists in the provinces of Kherson, Katerynoslav and Kiev. By May 1882, Stundists and Baptists together numbered over three thousand in Kherson province alone. In 1884 Ukrainian Baptist churches had over two thousand members, and by 1893 had increased to over four thousand five hundred.[286] However, these new Protestant congregations suffered much persecution at the hands of local Orthodox priests and government officials. Arrests and closures of churches continued unchecked until 17 April 1905, when Tsar Nicholas II issued a decree of religious liberty.[287] These events caused the development of the distinctive Protestant attitude of distancing themselves from the traditional religious use of Orthodox icons.

The arts played a role in the development of Ukrainian nationalism. At the end of the 19th century, a group of young patriotic intellectuals with Orthodox and democratic ideals formed a secret society, 'The Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius'.[288] They promoted Ukrainian nationalism and equality between Slavic peoples.[289] The most famous member, Taras Shevchenko, later known as the 'national bard of Ukraine', wrote poetry in Ukrainian about Ukraine's loss of freedom after her glorious past.[290] His poetry did much to reawaken a sense of Ukrainian identity, despite heavy censorship. Although he studied at the Saint Petersburg Academy of the Arts, he devoted his writing and painting to Ukrainian themes. His realistic portrayals of suffering under Russian rule

---

[285] Ibid. p. 17. The name 'stundists' is derived from the German '*Bibelstunden*' (Bible hours), the name for the Bible studies that many Reformed groups held. The term was often shortened to '*Stunden*'.
[286] Ibid. p. 35.
[287] Ibid. p. 45. This new law was most likely motivated less by concerns for religious freedom and more as a concession to the civil dissent that was fomenting among the working classes.
[288] Smoley *All About Ukraine*. p. 247.
[289] Nahaylo *The Ukrainian Resurgence*. p. 6.
[290] See for example poetic works such as 'The Dream', 'The Caucasus', 'For the Dead and Alive', and 'The Great Vault'.

earned him exile, but according to Ukrainian art historian Zelska-Darewych, Shevchenko is credited to have revived Ukrainian-style painting and etching.[291]

Nevertheless, in the 1890s, 'Ukrainophilism' revived and grew in a response to the Russian authorities' attempts to repress Ukrainian ideals. Ukrainian nationalism was also increasing in Habsburg occupied Galicia, with expressions of nationalism often transmitted via the arts, since political expressions of Ukrainian identity were still dangerous.[292] Ukrainian artists began to experiment with impressionism, but the most famous were those who developed what is called the 'Russian avant-garde' movement, led by Davyd Burliuk and his brother Volodymyr, both born in Ukraine. Two other artists who used their work for political dissent, Kazimir Malevich, inventor of 'Suprematism' and Vladimir Tatlin, initiator of 'Constructivism', were both Ukrainians who settled in Russia for a time, but returned to Kiev to teach in the late 1920s.[293] By 1914 Ukrainian identity was growing, but many people still considered themselves to be Russian, because the education system was still highly Russified. Thus, most Ukrainians lacked knowledge about their own history and of their own cultural and religious institutions.[294]

The twentieth century saw the transformation of the Ukrainian ethnic community into the Ukrainian nation. In 1914, control of the western parts of Ukrainian territories had been transferred from the Hapsburgs to the Russians, who immediately began a campaign of Russification there, imprisoning many Ukrainophiles. This project was cut short when the Romanov regime was ousted from power during the Russian revolution in 1917. In the ensuing chaos, a nationalist organisation called the 'Ukrainian People's Republic' (UNR) took this opportunity to set up an assembly in Kiev and sought to establish a Ukrainian state. They issued several 'universals', the fourth of which stated, "From this day forth, the Ukrainian People's Republic becomes independent, subject to no one, a free, sovereign state of the Ukrainian people."[295] However, the Bolsheviks descended upon Kiev and threw out the UNR in February 1918, in what some historians have called the 'Ukrainian - Soviet War'.[296] Later that year, after the Germans made a treaty with the Bolsheviks and occupied Kiev, they re-established the Hetmanate, which collapsed by the

---

[291] Zelska-Darewych 'The Development of Ukrainian Painting', p. 18 He lived from 1814 to 1861.
[292] Wilson *The Ukrainians: Unexpected Nation.* p. 82.
[293] Zelska-Darewych 'The Development of Ukrainian Painting', p. 19.
[294] Nahaylo *The Ukrainian Resurgence.* p. 8.
[295] Rudnytsky *Essays in Modern Ukrainian History by Ivan I. Rudnytsky.* p. 389.
[296] Pawliczko *Ukraine and Ukrainians throughout the World.* p. 59.

end of that year. When the Germans retreated at the beginning of 1919, the UNR stepped back into power in Kiev with the help of peasant armies. Riding on a tide of nationalist sentiments, later that year the region was proclaimed the 'Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic'.

These tumultuous events brought tremendous change for all people, including branches of the church. After the abdication of Emperor Nicolas II, the All-Russian Church Council restored the Moscow Patriarchate on 15 August 1917. However, the Bolsheviks saw both the emperor and the church as former repressors and sought not only to topple the tsar from power but also the church. In January of 1918, the Bolsheviks assassinated Volodymyr Bohoyavlensky, Metropolitan of Kiev.[297] During that month, they executed twenty-five monks in the monastery of Lubni and ransacked many churches, monasteries and convents. The Bolshevik government in Ukraine, who called themselves 'The Provisional Workers' and Peasants' Government of Ukraine,' proclaimed the separation of church from the state on 19 January 1919.[298]

During this time of upheaval, when Ukrainian nationalism soured and Ukrainians hoped for their own nation, the people demanded a church that was not ruled by Russians. Thus, in 1921, nationalistic Orthodox Church leaders proclaimed the Ukrainian Orthodox Church 'autocephalous' and independent from Moscow. However, since most of the bishops remained loyal to the Moscow Patriarch, the new bishops and priests were consecrated by the laying on of hands by the congregation – a departure that later caused a crisis of legitimacy for the church.[299] By the middle of the 1920s there were approximately six million members of the new Ukrainian Autocephalous Church, with thirty bishops and 1,500 priests.[300]

During Ukraine's brief independence in 1917, the Ukrainian Art Academy was opened in Kiev. Mykhailo Boichuk, one of the most famous members of its staff, worked to revive fresco painting in the Byzantine style in an effort to create a monumental style that would appeal to the masses.[301] In 1922, with the increasing control of the Soviet government, the

---

[297] Ware *The Orthodox Church*. p. 125.
[298] W. Mykula 1969 *The Gun and the Faith: Religion and Church in Ukraine under the Communist Rule*. London: Ukrainian Information Service. p. 8.
[299] This was corrected in 1942 when the bishops were canonically consecrated. Ibid. p. 14.
[300] Nahaylo *The Ukrainian Resurgence*. p. 12.
[301] Zelska-Darewych 'The Development of Ukrainian Painting', p. 20.

academy was renamed the 'Kiev Art Institute' and the faculty were forced to promote social realism. Boichuk stayed on the staff and encouraged students to find inspiration in icons, folk art and early Italian Renaissance works, which resulted in his arrest and execution in 1937.[302] In the 1920s, many artists fled from Ukraine to Europe along with the other similarly persecuted members of the intelligentsia. During this time, Western Ukraine, not yet ruled by Moscow, saw a revival of neo-Byzantine painting for churches. Metropolitan Andriy Sheptytsky encouraged this revival and during this period founded the Ukrainian National Museum in Lviv.[303]

At the end of the First World War, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Romania all gained part of Western Ukrainian territory, and the remaining land became the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. In 1929, Ukraine changed its status from an independent republic to a 'union republic', and was integrated into the Soviet Union.[304]

Function of Icons

Throughout this period, from the arrival of Christianity in Kiev and until the time of the Soviet Union, icons were an essential part of life in Ukraine. As Orthodoxy grew and replaced tribal paganism, icons came to play a central role not only in churches, but also in the community life of the people. During festivals, icons were processed through the streets of the village. During times of war, they were carried with the army into battle. People hung them on the walls of their home in a special place called the 'prayer' or 'beautiful' corner. When the Prince of Vladimir, Andrei Bogolyubski, sacked Kiev in the 12th century, he returned to his city, triumphantly taking the famous icon of the mother of God with him as a symbol of his political power.[305] Icons were used in all aspects of private and social life. This section explores the several important functions of these images within the social context.

Part of liturgical worship

Within Orthodox worship, icons are intended to be viewed and contemplated while listening to the liturgy and the hymns of the church. At different parts of the service, the icons are blessed and the priest wafts incense over them. As people enter the church, they

---

[302] Ibid., p. 20.
[303] Here we see the interconnections between the political situation, religion and the visual arts.
[304] Smoley *All About Ukraine*. p. 268.
[305] Milyaeva *The Ukrainian Icon. 11th - 18th Centuries. From Byzantine Sources to the Baroque*. p. 15.

pause before icons, kissing them, making the sign of the cross, and lighting candles. At various points in the ecclesiastical calendar, certain icons are celebrated and pilgrimages are made to them to honour miracles that have occurred or to venerate the person portrayed. It must be noted that icons do not attempt a realistic depiction of Christ or the saints, but rather the archetype of the person shown. Thus, the Orthodox believe icons are worthy of reverence because they inspire veneration of the reality behind what is portrayed. Through them, Christ and the saints are honoured and become part of the worship service. Even the most casual observer will see that icons appear and play a part in all the rites of the Orthodox Church. What follows is a brief description of five functions of Orthodox icons.

Education in Dogma and Religious History

Since the 4th century, icons have been used by the church as visual aids in religious instruction. The first medieval pope, Gregory the Great (590-604), wrote that "icons are for the unlettered what the Sacred Scriptures are for the lettered."[306] When icons were approved by the Second Council of Nicea (787), it was declared that icons were "of an equal benefit to us as the gospel narrative."[307] The council of 869-70 affirmed that what the Gospels proclaim with words, icons express with colours. Over the centuries, the icon was an important tool in religious education, not only because many people could not read, but also for the reason that the Scriptures were not translated into Slavonic until the 16th century. John of Kronstadt, a 19th century Russian saint, described the function of icons as "not intended for show, but for prayer before them, for reverence, for instruction."[308]

Some icons teach viewers about particular Biblical events and visualise theological dogmas. Icons also visually explain church traditions and Orthodox religious history. Milyaeva describes how icons function as historical markers, giving as an example the 12th century icon 'Our Lady of Svensk' which depicts the Virgin on a throne surrounded by the founders of Kiev's Monastery of the Caves.[309] She also observes that icons have at times had a polemical function, instructing the people against heresy. She gives as an example the iconostasis in Lviv's Church of the Assumption, where the icons of the

---

[306] In "Letter to Serenus", as quoted in Daniel B. Clendenin 1994 *Eastern Orthodox Christianity: A Western Perspective*. Grand Rapids: Baker Books. p. 77.
[307] Ibid. p. 77.
[308] Simon Jenkins 1998 *Windows into Heaven*. Oxford: Lion. p. 6.
[309] Milyaeva *The Ukrainian Icon. 11th - 18th Centuries. From Byzantine Sources to the Baroque*. p. 15.

Passion Row were designed to strengthen the position of the Orthodox faith against Catholicism.[310] Furthermore, Simon Jenkins observes "icons of the saints are intended for prayer to the saint shown on them, and also as an example of how to live the life of a Christian."[311] Thus, as church historian Senyk writes, "Church iconography is didactic, impressing its spirituality on the faithful who pray in those churches."[312]

Mediating between God and human

Brother Aidan explains that the incarnation and the transfiguration allow the material world, and hence an icon, to become a mediator between God and humanity.[313] Orthodox cosmology emphasizes that the fall corrupted human flesh, and since humans ruled over the earth, all matter was corrupted. Therefore, at the incarnation, crucifixion and resurrection, Christ redeemed flesh and thus redeemed all matter. Hence, as matter redeemed, icons operate as a conduit of prayer to the one portrayed, mediating between heaven and earth, between saint on earth and saint in heaven. Their task is to lift people's perspective from earth to heaven, drawing people to a spiritual vision of reality. Basil, Orthodox Bishop of Sergievo writes "the icon is always personal, opening up a pathway between us and Christ and His saints… The icon is evidence that the invisible can be carried by the visible, and that matter can become a bearer of the Spirit, an instrument of revelation, and a vehicle for communion with God."[314] Icons offer a vision of the transcendent world, reflecting the now and not yet of the invisible spiritual world.

---

[310] Ibid. p. 47.
[311] Jenkins *Windows into Heaven*. p. 54.
[312] Senyk *A History of the Church in Ukraine*. p. 361.
[313] Brother Aidan 1991 'Icon-Making as a Model of Orthodox Cosmology', *Sophia* 1: 19-30. p. 20.
[314] Basil of Sergievo, as quoted in Jenkins *Windows into Heaven*. Forward, p. 4.

Spreading Sacred Space

According to Orthodox theology, icons convey the sanctifying grace of the incarnation to both people and the world. Thus, they function as a means for sanctifying a place. Parry explains "we are brought to our moral senses, as it were, by seeing icons processing through town and country, reminding us of our means of salvation."[315] Since icons are regarded as holy objects, wherever these images are carried or placed also becomes holy. When Orthodox believers keep icons in their homes, one of their functions is to make their home a sacred place, or at least the particular corner where the icons are placed. *(Pictured is a traditional Ukrainian icon corner.)* Furthermore, icons were also carried into battle with the army, not only for the soldiers to venerate, but also to aid them in the fight against the enemy.[316]

Miracles

Icons are also valued for their healing power and their ability to intercede on behalf of those who venerate them.[317] Orthodox adherents believe that grace grows in the icon over time as many people pray over it. In the words of St John of Damascus, "matter is filled with divine grace through prayer addressed to those portrayed in icons."[318] According to Brother Aidan, Orthodox theology teaches that icons may have the power to heal since Christ's miracles were the natural result of his work of revitalising matter and icons are matter revitalised.[319] Particular icons are venerated for their miraculous powers, whether demonstrated in the past or present. For example, during the field research, a service at the 'Monastery of the Protecting Veil' was held in Kiev in honour of an icon of The Mother of God that was believed to have saved Kiev from a sacking by the Mongols in the 14th century. Icons are commonly believed to have protective powers.

---

[315] Ken Parry 1991 'The Role of the Icon in the Eastern Orthodox Tradition', *Sophia* 1: 12-18. p. 14.
[316] Milyaeva *The Ukrainian Icon. 11th - 18th Centuries. From Byzantine Sources to the Baroque.* p. 6. She also notes that at times of war tents were even converted into chapels to house the icons.
[317] Parry 'The Role of the Icon in the Eastern Orthodox Tradition'. p. 13. Parry gives an example from Theodore of Sykeon.
[318] St.John *On the Divine Images: Three Apologies Against Those Who Attack the Divine Images*. p. 36.
[319] Aidan 'Icon-Making as a Model of Orthodox Cosmology'. p. 20.

Identity

Finally, an icon can be used to express a person's identification as Orthodox. Since the days of Kievan Rus, the Orthodox Church and its icons served to establish power structures and instill a unified identity. Historian Milyaeva explains that "The monumental [icon] painting was part of a complex theological agenda that asserted the electedness of the Kievan prince and his dynasty."[320] Thus, the church and the icons inside were used from the beginning to teach a form of national identity. Icons mark a person's religious identity as Orthodox, and are present at nearly every important milestone of an Orthodox person's life. For example, at baptism a child is often given an icon of the saint whose name he has been given, as well as a cross to wear around his neck. At weddings the bride and groom are blessed with icons by their fathers. Icons are also carried at the front of a funeral procession. For many Ukrainians, icons function as symbols of both their Orthodox and Ukrainian identity.

Thus, icons are not only central to the practice of Orthodox faith; they are key images in Ukrainian society. They operate as a 'window on heaven' - the people's porthole to the transcendent. Icons beckon people to pray and encourage them to look beyond their worldly existence into the spiritual realm. The central importance of icons lasted in Ukrainian society unhindered until two tremendous changes occurred in society – first in 1919 with the birth of the Soviet state and the second in 1991, when Ukraine gained independence. Both of these transitions brought new images to Ukrainian society.

Soviet Images

This section describes the dramatic visual changes that came with the advent of Soviet control in Ukraine. However, first, the situation of religious freedom during this time will be described, since this is pertinent to later analysis of the current religious situation in Ukraine. This is followed by a discussion of the agenda of the Soviets for the visual culture of Ukraine and how these images functioned in daily life.

The leaders of the Communist Party based their ideas about the role of religion in society on the ideology of Marx, who believed that religion was an 'opium for the people' and the instrument of the wealthy class for keeping the working class in subjugation.[321] When the

---

[320] *Milyaeva The Ukrainian Icon. 11th - 18th Centuries. From Byzantine Sources to the Baroque.* p. 5.
[321] Mykula *The Gun and the Faith: Religion and Church in Ukraine under the Communist Rule.* p. 7.

Bolsheviks seized power, they sought to subvert religious leaders and repress most forms of religion. Stalin said, "the Party cannot be neutral towards religion. It conducts an anti-religious struggle against all and any religious prejudices."[322] The Communist government confiscated all church property and took away churches' legal status. In 1929, the 'Law on Religious Associations' was enacted which allowed people their own religious beliefs, but made it a crime to propagate those beliefs.[323] Thus, the Soviet government permitted the people to hold religious services and nothing else. Eventually, influential militant atheists in the Communist Party also demanded that church leaders support and affirm the Party. Thousands of bishops, priests, monks, and pastors who refused to cooperate with the Party were sent to Siberian prison camps. Many church buildings were demolished, while others were converted into museums of atheism or other government buildings.

Ukrainian writer Mykula outlines the restrictions on religious belief in Soviet Ukraine. He notes that the Soviet regime was in many cases harsher in the non-Russian regions, treating these areas, including Ukraine, as occupied territory. Thus, the constitution of the Ukrainian SSR was even more restrictive of freedom of conscience issues than analogous articles in the Russian version.[324] In 1914, there were 10,793 church cantors in Ukraine, a number that had decreased to 4,574 by 1927 – a decrease of 57% over thirteen years.[325] By the end of the 1920s, Stalin intensified the war against religion, resulting in the desecration of many village churches, which were transformed into granaries, barns or pig-sties, or pulled down and the materials used for fuel. In 1934, Saint Sophia Cathedral in Kiev was transformed into a state museum. All who objected to the destruction of church property were arrested and executed or exiled to Siberian work camps. By 1936, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church had disappeared, with no parishes remaining. In 1938, the last active bishop of the Orthodox Church Moscow Patriarchate in Ukraine was arrested with four of his priests.

Initially, the new restrictions did not have much affect on Protestant groups. Just a few years before the establishment of the Soviet Union, a Pentecostal renewal movement in Europe had extended to the Russian Empire. Rowe writes that travelling evangelists were

---

[322] Ware *The Orthodox Church*. p. 145.
[323] Ibid. p. 146.
[324] Mykula *The Gun and the Faith: Religion and Church in Ukraine under the Communist Rule*. p. 10.
[325] Ibid. p. 17.

invited to preach at large gatherings, and the government did little to hinder their message. He explained that the Soviets saw these growing groups of Pentecostals as a threat to the Orthodox Church, and gave them free reign in the 1920s as part of their strategy to undermine the Orthodox Church.[326] Therefore, at this time, the number of Pentecostals and other Protestant groups grew and many Bible schools and seminaries were established. A Ukrainian Pentecostal Union was formed in 1926 and by 1927 there were 350 congregations and about 80,000 members.[327] Youth clubs were established, including *Bapsomol*, the Baptist Union of Youth, and *Christomol*, the Christian (Pentecostal) Union of Youth. Some Christian leaders claimed that by the end of the 1920's, these two Christian youth organisations combined had more members than *Komsomol,* the Communist Union of Youth.[328] However, in 1928, Stalin began to attack Protestants as part of the implementation of his plan to wipe out religion entirely from the Soviet Union. Protestant churches and Bible schools were closed and pastors were arrested.

The Second World War brought further instability to the population. The general population in Ukraine willingly surrendered to the Germans in 1941, since they knew nothing about the Nazi system, having been forcibly isolated from Europe for some time. Rudnytsky explains that "the Germans were looked upon as representatives of the admired European civilization, and the Germany of Hitler was visualized in the image of that of William II."[329] In June 1941, once Germany occupied Ukraine, the people had to face the bitter truth of Nazi intentions for their country. Over two million Ukrainians were deported to Germany for forced labour and Ukrainian nationalists were shot.[330] The Nazis also began the systematic elimination of Jews, the most infamous event taking place in Kiev in the valley of 'Babi Yar' on 29-30 September 1941, where an estimated 34,000 Jews were shot and their bodies pushed into huge pits.[331] By the end of the Second World War, it is estimated that Ukraine's population had decreased by twenty-five percent. This devastating population decrease in a short period of time was caused by several factors: many young men died in the battles of the war, most of which took place on Ukrainian soil. Additionally, a large number of people died due to hunger and disease during that

---

[326] Rowe *Russian Resurrection: Strength in Suffering: A History of Russia's Evangelical Church*. p. 88.
[327] Ibid. p. 91.
[328] Ibid. p. 91.
[329] Rudnytsky *Essays in Modern Ukrainian History by Ivan I. Rudnytsky*. p. 468.
[330] Nahaylo *The Ukrainian Resurgence*. p. 14.
[331] Magocsi *A History of Ukraine*. p. 631.

time. Furthermore, the Soviets deported thousands of people to Siberia and the Nazis sent people to labour camps. Finally, many people took this opportunity to emigrate to the West.[332] Although the war was a bitter time for Ukraine, one further step towards nationhood was achieved: at the end of the war, the Western Ukrainian territories were annexed to the Ukrainian SSR, adding about eight million new citizens, mostly ethnic Ukrainians.[333]

These were difficult days for most religious groups. When the Russian Soviets occupied the Western Ukrainian region in 1939, they initiated a programme in order to gradually destroy the Uniate Church, which they saw as a last bastion for promoting Ukrainian nationalism. When the Germans occupied the region in 1941, many Uniate church leaders were arrested for speaking against the murder of countless people, especially Jews. According to Mykula, when the Soviets reoccupied the region in 1944, they proceeded to arrest and deport most of the Uniate Church leaders on invented charges of collaboration with the Germans.[334] In 1946, the Uniate Church was 'officially' reincorporated into the Russian Orthodox Church and 'officially' ceased to exist. All of the Ukrainian Uniate bishops protested against the reinstatement and most were arrested and sent to prison.[335]

Both branches of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine were affected by the war. During the German occupation of Ukraine, the Autocephalous Church rapidly revived and grew to about 500 parishes and priests, and in Mykula's opinion, the growth was mostly due to anti-Moscow sentiments and Ukrainian patriotism.[336] Most of the clergy fled before the Soviet army re-occupied Ukraine, at which point Stalin liquidated the Autocephalous Church. On the other hand, after the war, Stalin allowed a certain measure of religious freedom to continue for the Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate, hoping to win the approval of the people. He also granted the Orthodox Church legal status as a reward for the church leaders' role in encouraging the people to defend their country.

---

[332] Pawliczko *Ukraine and Ukrainians throughout the World.* p. 62.
[333] Rudnytsky *Essays in Modern Ukrainian History by Ivan I. Rudnytsky.* p. 469.
[334] Mykula *The Gun and the Faith: Religion and Church in Ukraine under the Communist Rule.* p. 28
[335] Ware *The Orthodox Church.* p. 164.
[336] Mykula *The Gun and the Faith: Religion and Church in Ukraine under the Communist Rule.* p. 22.

During the 1950s, the Orthodox Church was included in Soviet policy plans, and many theology schools and academies were opened.[337] However, in 1959, Khrushchev came to power and harshly renewed the Communist Party's animosity toward religion. Many priests and ministers were imprisoned on invented 'criminal' charges and others were harassed and subjected to physical violence. It is estimated that in the entire Soviet Union approximately 10,000 clergy were forced out of their churches and about two-thirds of the churches were closed.[338] Rodmila Radic, in an article about the proselytising nature of Marxist-Leninism, points out that at that time, the government produced and disseminated huge volumes of anti-religious propaganda.[339] In 1961, new anti-religious legislation was introduced in Ukraine, stating "the leaders or directors of a group the activity of which, under the pretext of a lecture, includes religious teaching or the practice of religious rites, thus endangering the health of the citizens who are members of the group . . . shall receive sentences of up to five years imprisonment..."[340] By then, scientific atheism was an obligatory subject in Ukrainian schools.[341] In 1963, the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party voted to continue and intensify the attack against the church and to renew their distribution of atheist propaganda. In response, *The Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate* sought to defend Christianity by characterising it as a primitive form of Communism and depicting Jesus Christ as an upholder of the peace and equality of the people, "just like Khrushchev".[342]

By this time, according to Ware, all who held upper level positions in the Orthodox Church had compromised with the Communist Party.[343] Nevertheless, some of the parish priests and people still protested. In 1965, two Orthodox priests wrote to the Patriarch and complained about the repressive acts of the government and the church's lack of resistance. The Patriarch responded by suspending the two priests from their churches. In 1972, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn wrote in an open letter to the Patriarch:

> "By what reasoning is it possible to convince oneself that the planned destruction of the spirit and body of the Church under the guidance of the atheists is the best way of preserving it? Rescuing it for whom? Certainly not

---

[337] Rodmila Radic 1999 'The Proselytizing Nature of Marxism-Leninism', *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 36(1-2): 80-93. p. 88.
[338] Ware *The Orthodox Church.* p. 157.
[339] Radic 'The Proselytizing Nature of Marxism-Leninism'. p. 88.
[340] Mykula *The Gun and the Faith: Religion and Church in Ukraine under the Communist Rule.* p. 26.
[341] Radic 'The Proselytizing Nature of Marxism-Leninism'. p. 89.
[342] Based on the author's reading of *The Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate*, 1963/1, quoted in Ibid. p. 89.
[343] Kallistos Ware 1993a *The Orthodox Church.* London: Penguin. p. 159.

for Christ. Preserving it by what means? By falsehood? But after the falsehood by whose hands are the holy sacraments to be celebrated?"[344]

The largest Protestant Church in Ukraine during the Communist regime was the Union of Evangelical Christian Baptists. According to Mykula, in 1960 there were about 270,000 Baptists in Ukraine, with 170 communities in the Kiev region alone.[345] He also notes that the Union of the Seventh Day Adventist was officially recognised by the Soviet authorities, with 115 communities in Ukraine in 1969.[346] The Pentecostals were banned in the Soviet Union for their 'anti-social and anti-Soviet' attitudes.[347] The Jehovah's Witnesses were also banned in Ukraine and the members were harshly persecuted.[348] Judaism was officially recognised by the Soviets, but was often attacked by anti-Semitic Communist propaganda. Crimea had a large population of Muslims, despite Soviet attempts to expel them from that region.

Soviet Plan for Visual Propaganda

This section describes how the Soviet government used monuments, paintings and posters to influence the masses and create a new visual landscape that conformed to their ideals. Monuments were the initial means of visually communicating socialist ideals in public space. On 12 April 1918, the first law passed by the new Soviet National Committee applied to the new monuments for the republic.[349] This decree, 'The Plan for Monumental Propaganda', set in motion the system of Soviet regulation of monument building all over the Union. It is impossible to know to what degree Lenin's ideas about monuments were drawn from the Orthodox Church's use of icons, since this would not have been an acceptable admission in that time of Socialist atheism. According to Lenin, his ideas about monumental propaganda in the new republic were drawn from the writings of Campanelia, an Italian thinker and the founder of Utopian Socialism in the 17th century.[350] Campanelia dreamed of the ideal city of the future, which would have a large square in the centre with a beautiful temple. The walls of the city would be filled with paintings illustrating scientific knowledge for the education of children. Campanelia also

---

[344] Ware *The Orthodox Church*. p. 159.
[345] Mykula *The Gun and the Faith: Religion and Church in Ukraine under the Communist Rule*. p. 38.
[346] Ibid. p. 39.
[347] The Soviet disdain for Pentecostals in particular was most likely due to Pentecostal pacifism. When Pentecostal young men requested permission to opt out of obligatory military service, the Soviets saw this as disloyalty and 'anti-social' behaviour.
[348] Mykula *The Gun and the Faith: Religion and Church in Ukraine under the Communist Rule*. p. 40.
[349] I. Vasilyev-Vyazmin 1977 'Lenin's Plan of Monumental Propaganda - A programme of Activity for Soviet Artists' *The Art of Public Squares*, Moscow: Knowledge, p. 6.
[350] Ibid., p. 7.

wrote that his utopian society would have celebrations dedicated to events in the history of the city and poets would write verses about the outstanding citizens. Outside the city would be monuments to the heroes of the city, established after their death.

Lenin liked these ideas, despite the writings of many contemporary philosophers who claimed the notions were naïve and idealistic. He wrote, "I will call this idea the Plan for Monumental Propaganda. Our climate is not conducive to paintings on the walls for education, so we must have sculptured monuments and poetry."[351] This program was targeted at the common people, the masses, not the intelligentsia, who either agreed with his programmes for socialism or found themselves in Siberian prison camps. Therefore, since Lenin thought that the masses would find poetry too difficult to understand, he placed instead Marxist slogans on the walls of public places in the cities. Furthermore, since he believed that monuments were far more important than slogans, he worked with the Central Committee to draw up a list of Socialist scientists, philosophers, artists, and revolutionaries who would become the 'heroes of culture' and whose images would be immortalised in the monuments. The realisation of this plan began in 1918, the first year of the Soviet government. On 12 April, the Soviet Committee made a resolution to destroy all monuments honouring the tsar and those who served him. This directive was carried out on 1 May and by 30 July the Soviet National Committee had formed the list of sixty-nine revolutionaries and great public figures of different nations to be depicted in the new monuments.[352]

After Lenin's death, he himself became a national icon. Stalin continued to carry out Lenin's plans, and additionally insured that cities throughout the Soviet Union erected monuments to Lenin. After the Second World War, many statues of the heroes of the war and monuments to freedom were built. Theories of monument building developed, and the resulting monuments depicted archetypes representing the 'ideal worker' or the 'mother of the people.' Later, especially during Khrushchev's times, monuments were made cheaply and functionally.

---

[351] Ibid., p. 7.
[352] Ibid., p. 12.

(Pictured above and to the left is the 'Mother of Our Motherland' Monument, built after the Second World War to celebrate the victory over the Germans. During the construction of the monument there was a public outcry because the huge statue was planned to be taller than the bell tower of Kiev Pechersk Monastery, seen on the right side in the photograph above. The Soviet architects responded to the people's fears, and reduced the length of the monument's sword so that it would not bring them bad luck by being higher than the monastery tower.)

Within the realm of painting, the Soviets developed their own version of social realism and gradually forced all artists to comply with this style. Russian philosopher Chernyshevsky, who thought that art should reflect all aspects of reality and not limit itself to beauty, influenced Lenin's theory of aesthetics. Chernyshevsky believed that as art reflected reality, it would aid people in their understanding of social problems and point the way toward solutions.[353] By 1895 Lenin had formed the Social Democratic Party and began to use the arts to communicate the party's ideas to the masses. Lenin's paper 'Resolution on the Questions of Propaganda, the Press and Agitation' of 1923 outlined the Party's policy on all matters of art, the press, literature, cinema, and theatre. This document stated that since these forms of communication were especially influential for young people, it was essential that the Communist Party control their content.[354]

As the Soviet state solidified, Stalin's control extended to visual culture. In 1932, Stalin called for writers and artists to become "engineers of the human soul".[355] He denounced the avant-garde artistic style and dictated Socialist Realism as the only method of painting. The Party defined Socialist Realism as "socialist in content, national in form"

---

[353] C. Vaughan James 1973 *Soviet Socialist Realism: Origins and Theory*. London: Macmillan. p. 22.
[354] Ibid. p. 54.
[355] David Elliot 1992 'Engineers of the Human Soul: Paintings of the Stalin Period', in Elliot (ed) *Soviet Socialist Realistic Painting: 1930s-1960s*, Oxford: Museum of Modern Art, pp. 5-17. p. 5.

and sought to eradicate all foreign influences on art.[356] In 1936, and again after the war in 1946, the government 'purged' culture of negative influences. Many artists lost their jobs, their works were removed from museums and exhibitions, and some were arrested and imprisoned. Conversely, artists who submitted to the Socialist Realist style were treated as heroes, some receiving large financial rewards, particularly those who chose to paint images of Stalin portrayed as the 'great leader of the people'.[357]

Art historian C. Vaughan James, in his book *Soviet Socialist Realism*, argues that it was Lenin's notion of the central role of the Party in developing the arts that made Stalin's excessive control and manipulation of the arts possible.[358] Stalin's Social Realism was a practical outworking of Lenin's ideas that eventually generated a distorted picture of reality because artists were no longer free to search for truth, but were given 'truth' as decreed by the Party leaders. According to Ukrainian art historian Daria Zelska-Darewych, the paintings and sculptures became less an attempt to reflect reality and more an idealisation of the Russian Revolution, the Communist State and its leaders, and a glorification of the workers.[359] James points out that subjecting art to the fallible Party produced what he calls 'false art', leaving no space available for legal critique.[360]

Socialist Realism is a fascinating phenomenon in the visual history of the region. In a sense, this 'canonization' of Soviet Socialist Realism in order to preserve the spiritual lore of Communist ideology, mirrored the church's restrictions on the production of icons in previous centuries. According to art historian David Elliot, Socialist Realism was not so much a style of art as a method of creation. It reflected a political correctness, often depicting people at work and in other activities that promoted Party ideals. It was less a realistic art and more an 'ideal' art.[361] Zelska-Darewych, also writing about Soviet Socialist Realism, added, "painting was limited to naturalistically rendered thematic canvases of the Russian Revolution and its champions, to the glorification of the Communist State and its leaders, to portraits and genre scenes of smiling workers, and to romanticised depictions of war and its heroes."[362]

---

[356] Ibid., p. 12.
[357] Ibid., p. 12.
[358] James *Soviet Socialist Realism: Origins and Theory*. p. 102.
[359] Zelska-Darewych 'The Development of Ukrainian Painting', p. 21.
[360] James *Soviet Socialist Realism: Origins and Theory*. p. 101.
[361] Elliot 'Engineers of the Human Soul: Paintings of the Stalin Period', p. 13.
[362] Zelska-Darewych 'The Development of Ukrainian Painting', p. 21.

Many art historians such as Elliot and Zelska-Darewych see Socialist Realism as a Stalinist invention, politically driven and forced on artists in the early 1930s. However, James argues that Social Realism was a worldwide phenomenon that grew out of the work of artists as they became aware of the Marxist-Leninist understanding of social developments.[363] According to James, this would date its inception in the Russian Empire in 1895, and the form it took in the 1930s was an 'aberration' created by the Communist Party. Hence, James differentiates between 'Social Realism' and 'Soviet Socialist Realism'. For James, the term 'Soviet' is geographical, differentiating the art from similar movements in other countries. 'Socialist' means that its ideals were descriptive and in agreement with those of the Communist Party. 'Realism' implies that it sought to depict life in the context of social relations.[364]

The Soviet government also used posters to influence the citizens of their republic. During the Second World War, posters were the most affordable and prolific form of public propaganda. They functioned along the same line as Lenin's monuments, created to stir the hearts of the masses. Ukrainian art historian Irina Ostromenskaya claims that just as the place where people are born determines their language, so those who are born in Ukraine are born into the realm of the poster. "We spent a lot of time and money on posters and gave them much devotion. It is a significant part of Ukrainian art culture."[365] She wrote that although these posters were created to influence people, they are still a part of the country's art heritage, and should be studied as such. The posters were cheaply printed in runs of between 5,000 and 100,000. They were placed on walls, fences, notice boards and appeared printed on cards and the covers of magazines. According to Ostromenskaya, "sometimes the subject of the poster is frightening, but we can see that the poster is made not just with hands but with the soul of the artists. Hence, it could not possibly be any different."[366] In the 1970s, the posters became standardised, losing the originality of the artist almost entirely.[367]

---

[363] James *Soviet Socialist Realism: Origins and Theory*. p. 85.
[364] Ibid. pp. 87-88.
[365] Irina Ostromenskaya 2000 'Territory of the Poster', *Gallery* Kyiv(3-4): 26-27. p. 26.
[366] Ibid. p. 27.
[367] These posters were similar to Orthodox icons, in that they were not meant to be original and had to follow a type of canon. Furthermore, the identity of the artist is secondary to the function of the image.

Function of Soviet Images

With this brief description of the development of Soviet visual culture as a backdrop, it is possible to turn to a discussion of how the intended function of posters, paintings and monuments within Soviet society paralleled religious icons in several respects. Soviet images, like icons, played a role in community rituals, were used to educate the people, built a sense of national identity, shaped an understanding of transcendence, and called people to take action. Although many types of images were used by the Communist Party to promote their views, this section focuses particularly on monuments and propaganda posters, due to the public nature of these images.

Community Rituals

Monuments function as shrines of national ideology and affect people's behaviour and attitudes. Boime observes, "national emblems share many of the traits of the sacred icon, including consecration in the form of dedicatory ceremonies and their status as pilgrimage sites."[368] Lenin placed great significance on the opening of a new monument and ensured that at the celebrations there would be music, speeches, and many people. At these events, he often gave a speech explaining the magnitude of the ideals portrayed by the monument. Soviet artist G.P. Konyechna, in his book, *The Artist and the City*, recalled that postcards of the monument were sold at these events, so that people could take them home and have a reminder of the monument and its significance in their home.[369] Significantly, this is paralleled in the use of postcards of icons that are sold at Orthodox churches so that people can venerate the icons at home.[370]

Other Soviet writers described how Communist youth club initiation ceremonies, various political meetings and traditional celebrations would be held in front to the monuments.[371] Even in contemporary Ukraine, I observed that people visit these monuments on their

---

[368] Albert Boime 1998 *The Unveiling of the National Icons*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p. 2.
[369] G. P. Konyechna 1973 *The Artist and the City*. Moscow: Soviet Artists Publishers. p. 107.
[370] It is possible that the tradition of taking home a postcard of a monument has now extended to churches. For example, upon visiting an Orthodox church in Russia in August 2002, visitors were given a photograph of the church, which had a stamp on the back indicating that the photograph had been blessed by the priest.
[371] Liya Alexeyeva and Vasiliy Polischuk 1980 *To the Men who Liberated Ukraine*. Donetsk. p. 9.

wedding day, placing flowers at the base of the structure. *(Pictured above is a bride and groom placing flowers at the base of a Second World War monument in Kiev.)* One informant said that for some couples this gesture is an expression of gratefulness for the sacrifices made by the country's heroes, for others it is a ritual for good luck, and for others it is just a cultural tradition.

Education

According to Konyechna, writing in 1973, the Soviets built monuments as a means of educating the next generation about the past, and one of the main objectives of Lenin's monuments was to offer a new perspective on historical events.[372] Boime explains that, "those who attempt to control the nation's history through visual representations as well as through texts are regulators of the social memory and hence of social conscience."[373] Lenin intended to combine political and cultural education in his programme of monumental propaganda. Therefore, at the revealing of a new monument, different political leaders and members of the Communist Party would be present and give speeches, explaining the significance of the monument for the cause of Socialism. In addition, these sites continued to be used as a place where school children and young Pioneers could meet war veterans and political leaders to learn from them about patriotism and the Socialist dream. After Lenin died, the government continued to use monuments to define the past and to organise the national memory particularly after the Second World War, when many monuments were built celebrating the 'defeat of the fascists.'[374]

In Ukraine this was poignant, because the Germans had intentionally given the Ukrainians more freedom than Stalin, in an effort to realign their loyalties. Thus, when the Soviet forces defeated the Germans, the monuments were used to remind Ukrainians that they had been liberated from the 'fascist oppressors.' Hence, just as icons served to emphasise Orthodox beliefs against Catholic dogmas and other 'heresies', so monuments and posters also served as a polemic against other beliefs, particularly fascism. For example, during the Second World War, three men worked together to design propaganda posters, becoming famous for their drawings of Hitler and the fascists.[375] Their caricatures were agitational, conveying to the masses their negative perspectives of the fascists and their

---

[372] Konyechna *The Artist and the City*. p. 24.
[373] Boime *The Unveiling of the National Icons*. p. 9.
[374] Alexeyeva and Polischuk *To the Men who Liberated Ukraine*. p. 8.
[375] They called themselves 'Kukryniksy' (Кукрыниксы), a combination of their three names.

own angle on the events of the war. Art historian Bugahova argues that the creators of these posters were educators, intentionally working to instill their beliefs in the viewers of their work, and consistently portraying Hitler as an animal or a demon-like figure.[376] *(The poster says, 'Harvesting a strong blow against the enemy'.)*

Building identity

The Soviets also used national monuments to inspire a sense of shared identity. Konyechna wrote that the creators of monuments and other public art create not only art, but also create a "people, a nation, a spirit of the generation."[377] Just as Prince Vladimir chose the Orthodox faith and built churches and filled them with icons to draw the people together as a nation, so Lenin used images to build a new Soviet identity among the illiterate masses. Boime identifies a positive side to this function of monuments: "Any patriotic totem than makes us feel less isolated, that relieves our anxiety about communal existence, that makes us feel safer as part of a larger collective existence performs a valuable service."[378] According to Russian art historians Azizyan and Ivanova, monuments were built large scale so that people standing nearby would feel that they were close to something important, something global.[379] They write that these enormous structures were meant to instil a sense of the smallness of the individual in comparison to the large-scale plan of socialist project.

Shaping a sense of the transcendent

Similar to the way that icons offered a window on the eternal reality, the Soviets sought to use images to shape a new worldview and form their own notion of transcendence. Lenin decreed, "the Communist Party must lead and control the arts."[380] Why were the arts so important? The task of Soviet images was to replace centuries of religious and social beliefs and nurture a new worldview in the masses, aiming to bring about an almost spiritual awakening. According to Bugakova these socialist images were different from traditional art, because they did not intend to reflect life, but to influence life in an active,

---

[376] I.V. Bugakova (ed) 1982 *Art of the Soviet Union*, Moscow: Ministry of Culture of the USSR. p. 424.
[377] Konyechna *The Artist and the City*. p. 237.
[378] Boime *The Unveiling of the National Icons*. p. 8.
[379] I. V. Ivanova and I. A. Azizyan 1976 *Monuments of Eternal Glory*. Moscow: Stroyizdat. p. 62.
[380] Bugakova (ed) *Art of the Soviet Union*. p. 9.

participatory sense. According to her, it was a very applied art, designed to reach and influence many people. It was mostly experiential and gave birth to a new, public art form and a new way of influencing people.[381] Monuments and posters were the most blatant forms of visual propaganda, since both forms were conducive to public space.

This intention to influence belief is also evident in Soviet Socialist Realist art. C. Vaughn James argues that according to Soviet thinking, "the most important socialist aspect is the forward-looking nature of art, since the artist is armed with knowledge of what must happen in the future and works through his art to bring it about."[382] For example, Kuzma Petrov-Vodkin painted a picture that came to be known as the 'Madonna of Petrograd' *(pictured).*[383] It is intentionally similar to icons of the Mother of God, intended to communicate that the new saviour of the world is the working woman, and the child is the one who will bring about the Golden Republic.

Many Soviet monuments have the words 'Eternal Glory'[384] engraved on them. This is fascinating for an atheist society. What is meant by 'eternal'? This phrase suggests that the sacrifices that one makes for the motherland have eternal significance. This perspective forces the viewer to look outside one's own life and expand one's thinking to a vision of the great socialist utopia being built on the basis of the sacrifice of the people. For example, a propaganda poster at an exhibition in Kiev pictured two men working in a factory. In the background stood a kind, wise-looking older man, and in the foreground stood another man, young and looking hopefully off into the distance. At the bottom of the poster were these words: "The years will pass, and the days will come, when the Soviet working nation will call these hands, these young hands, the golden hands." Socialist propaganda aimed to give people a sense of the transcendent, the feeling that they were all part of something larger and outside themselves.

---

[381] Ibid. p. 9.
[382] James *Soviet Socialist Realism: Origins and Theory*. p. 89.
[383] Bugakova (ed) *Art of the Soviet Union*. p. 45.
[384] 'Вечная Слава' in Russian.

Call to action

Within Orthodox practice, icons call people to pray, and, similarly, images were used in the Soviet Union to inspire both soldiers and civilians to make self-sacrifices. Boime observed this tendency in his research, writing that, "[national] icons possess a 'dark side' in their ready-made text designed to enlist blind obedience to the governments who purport to represent them and embody their ideals."[385] I. V. Okhotnkov, a Russian expert in Soviet monument building, writing in the 1960s, explains that some monuments of historical figures were designed to operate as a memorial of that person, while other monuments call people to take action in support of socialist ideals.[386] He gives as an example a statue of Lenin placed on Lenin Square in Leningrad *(pictured)*. He describes it as 'a dynamic statue', showing Lenin with his coat open, his worker's cap in his pocket and his arm outstretched, pointing the way 'toward future victories.'[387] According to Okhotnikov "he is calling the masses to struggle for happiness, freedom and peace."[388] It seems that this monument captured the emotions of the people. Once the monument was in place, people often placed flowers at the foot of this structure, and one person even wrote poetry in its honour:

> "He is everywhere
> He is always near,
> The giant with his hand lifted up,
> Under his dear paternal look
> The human race has changed and leapt up!
> The modest, the wise, the rather short in height –
> This is what is so precious for me in him –
> With no armour on him –
> Just the man standing on the armoured car."[389]

This 'worship' of a transcendent Lenin recalls Berger's notions of legitimation and the human need for someone to worship.[390]

---

[385] Boime *The Unveiling of the National Icons*. p. 14.
[386] I.V. Okhotnikov 1967 *The Monument on Lenin Square*. Leningrad: Lenizdat Publisher. p. 44.
[387] Ibid. p. 3.
[388] Ibid. p. 3.
[389] Poem by S. Smirnov, in Ibid. p. 64.
[390] Peter Berger 1969 *The Social Reality of Religion*. London: Faber and Faber.

Although posters could not be said to inspire worship, they were openly used to influence public opinion and change people's behaviour. Dmitriy Moor, artist and creator of the many propaganda posters used during the First World War and considered an expert in the field of 'agitational' styles of visual art, claimed that these political posters influenced the people more than newspaper articles, because the "visual is a better weapon that the rational."[391] Furthermore, like icons, the function dominated the art form, and neither originality nor the creator of the image were as important as the influence of the poster on the viewer. *(In 1920 Moor designed this recruitment poster know as 'Ты' in one night. It says, 'How did YOU help the front?'.)*

Rebirth of Ukrainian National Identity

In the realm of the visual arts, after the death of Stalin and during the 'cultural thaw' of Khruschev's rule, Ukrainian art and literature were revitalised, and during this brief period paintings tended to depict Ukrainian folk themes using bright colours. However, although there was no return to the 'varnishing of reality' of Stalin's day, there still was no freedom for a critical view of Soviet reality.[392] By the late 1960s, the police were again closing exhibitions that did not follow the dictates of Socialist Realism. This gave birth to an underground movement of non-conformist art in the 1970s. These artists drew inspiration from traditional Ukrainian forms, but also continued to experiment with modern art movements. By the late 1970s, Socialist Realism was almost entirely abandoned. Avant-garde styles were resurrected, and icon painting also began again.[393]

In the 1960s and 70s a nationalist movement grew in Kiev in response to the people's growing fear that they were loosing their identity to Soviet Russian culture. Most dissenters were part of the Ukrainian intelligentsia and began to demand their legal rights to autonomy based on old treaties and agreements that had been forgotten by the Soviets in Moscow.[394] Khrushchev responded to the protests by arresting the dissenters in 1965-66, 1972-73 and 1976-80. After this, the only successful protests came via the arts, including paintings, novels, philosophy, music and even to a certain extent television and films.[395] Even in the 1980s, as Gorbachev and his *glasnost*[396] took over Moscow, Ukraine

---

[391] Bugakova (ed) *Art of the Soviet Union*. p. 33.
[392] James *Soviet Socialist Realism: Origins and Theory*. p. 99.
[393] Zelska-Darewych 'The Development of Ukrainian Painting', p. 21
[394] Wilson *The Ukrainians: Unexpected Nation*. p. 153.
[395] Ibid. p. 156.

remained in the firm grip of Soviet control. But when one of the Chernobyl reactors exploded at 1:23 on the morning of 26 April 1986, Ukrainians again began to publicly speak against the Soviet power in Moscow. In Reid's opinion, "imperilling everyone impartially and in the most basic and dramatic fashion, no other single piece of Communist bungling did more to turn public opinion against the regime."[397] Between 1986 and 1994, about 125,000 people died in Ukraine from diseases related to the Chernobyl disaster.[398]

By the end of the 1980s, nationalist movements began to re-emerge, the most prominent being the 'Popular Movement in Support of Perestroika'. Known as *Rukh*, it was founded by the few intellectuals who avoided the arrests in the 60s and 70s. They called for the revival of the Ukrainian language, myths and symbols. *Rukh's* 1989 platform called for religious freedom and specifically recognised the Uniate Church. The movement became very popular and when they captured a large number of seats in parliament, they began to call for the national sovereignty of Ukraine.[399] In January 1990, *Rukh* organised a demonstration of national unity with a human chain, consisting of over a million people and stretching between Lviv and Kiev.[400]

After Yeltsin's coup in Moscow in August 1991, Moscow could no longer hold the Union together and the Ukrainian Communists lost their grip on Ukraine. In a bid to retain power, they joined the pro-independence movement and on 24 August 1991, the Ukrainian parliament approved the Declaration of Independence, 346 votes to one.[401] In the December 1991 referendum, with an 84% voter turnout, 90.3% of the people voted for independence, and 63% voted to elect Leonid Kravchuk as president.[402] On 7-8 December, Kravchuk, Yeltsin and Shushkevich (the Belarusian leader) secretly met together and signed an agreement to dissolve the USSR and to form instead the

---

[396] 'openness'
[397] Reid *Borderland: A Journey Through the History of Ukraine*. p. 194.
[398]Stephen K. Batalden and Sandra L. Batalden 1997 *The newly independent states of Eurasia : handbook of former Soviet republics*. 2nd Edition, Phoenix, Ariz.: Oryx. p. 82.
[399] Ibid. p. 80.
[400] Wilson *The Ukrainians: Unexpected Nation*. p. 159.
[401] Ibid. p. 168.
[402] Wilson notes that it is not surprising that Kravchuk was elected since he had promised a huge increase in Ukrainian prosperity if they voted for him and for independence. It is interesting that Kravchuk's platform for independence was not based on nationalism or myths so much as on promises of prosperity. See Ibid. p. 169.

'Commonwealth of Independent States.'[403] In this way, Ukraine was able to gain its independence from Russia without bloodshed. By 25 August 1992, 123 countries officially recognised Ukraine as a state, including Canada, USA, France, Germany and Great Britain.[404]

Creating a Nation

Ukrainians faced many difficulties in the task of nation building. Although the people of Ukraine were free from the rule of the Soviets, they did not gain independence from the Communists. Kravchuk stepped into the presidency at the head of the national Communists, and maintained Soviet-style politics.[405] In 1994, Leonid Kuchma, defending the rights of Russian speakers and advocating closer ties with Russia to help with the deepening economic problems, defeated Kravchuk's attempt at re-election. With the democratic nationalists in the minority, and no liberal party to reform the centre, the Communist left was able to dominate the political scene, causing stagnation and slow economic reform. In 1996, at the urging of Kuchma, the parliament adopted a new 'post-Soviet' constitution – a compromise between the right's expression of the national idea and left's social system of the state. However, many of the reforms, although existing on paper, have yet to be carried out. Most of Kuchma's efforts were focused on solidifying his own power, and heavily controlling the media and government appointments. Despite rumours of his connections with the mafia, he was re-elected in 1998. In 2004 he sought to install his ally Victor Yanukovych as President and, since the constitution does not allow him a third term as president, he attempted transfer executive power to the office of Prime minister, a post that he would then take. But his bid to continue his power was blocked by the Parliament who did not allow the transfer of executive authority to the Prime minister. Then, although the central election commission declared Yanukovych the winner of the Presidential election in November 2004, allegations of vote tampering and internationally televised protests led the Parliament to declare a re-run. Kuchma withdrew his support of Yanukovych, and on 26 December the West leaning opposition leader, Victor Yushchenko, was declared the winner of the Presidential race.

---

[403] It is interesting that they notified U.S. President Bush before they contacted Gorbachev with news of their decision. See Ibid. p. 170.
[404] Pawliczko *Ukraine and Ukrainians throughout the World.* p. 66.
[405] Wilson *The Ukrainians: Unexpected Nation.* p. 183.

Religious Freedom and the Challenge of Pluralism

Ukrainian independence saw radical changes in the religious situation of the region. Although President Kravchuk strongly discouraged the attempt to form a state church at the 'All-Ukrainian Religious Forum' in 1991, stating that 'a pluralistic religious situation awaits us [after independence],'[406] as soon as independence was won, Orthodox leaders started vying for control of the new Ukrainian Orthodox Church. The Uniates had regained their legal status in 1989 after a meeting between Gorbachev and Pope John Paul II. By 1991, when Cardinal Myroslav Liubachivs'kyi returned to Lviv from exile in Rome, the Uniate Church could claim as many as 2,000 parishes in Western Ukraine.[407] The Autocephalous church called a council in Kiev in May 1990 to re-establish their church and Patriarch Mystyslav returned to Ukraine from exile. In 1992, political leaders, including President Kravchuk, decided that the means to unite the Orthodox churches would be for all the Orthodox parishes in Ukraine to become the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, under the direction of a patriarch in Kiev not Moscow, and to join with the Autocephalous church.[408] This plan not only failed to unite the churches, but also caused further divisions.

Ukrainian religious studies lecturer Taras Kuzio, explains the reasons for the failure of this bid to unite the Orthodox Church. The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church was started in the 1920s as a national movement. Thus, they distrusted the former Russian Orthodox leaders who not only had supported the move to dissolve the UAOC, but also had links with the KGB and were still Soviet in their attitudes.[409] Additionally, Kuzio explains that many people distrusted a powerful leader for the cause of the merger, Mykhailo Denysenko Filaret. He was the metropolitan of the Russian Orthodox Church in Ukraine until early 1992, and became deputy patriarch of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Kiev Patriarchate (UOC-KP) in 1992 and then patriarch in 1995. The Russian Orthodox Church refused to grant autocephaly and quickly denounced Filaret as a KGB informer and brought forward evidence that he was married, which was uncanonical since Filaret was a monk.[410] Furthermore, since two-thirds of all operating Orthodox churches

---

[406] Ibid. p. 234.
[407] Batalden and Batalden *The newly independent states of Eurasia : handbook of former Soviet republics.* p. 85.
[408] Thus creating the Ukrainian Orthodox Church Kiev Patriarchate (UOC-KP).
[409]Taras Kuzio 1997 'In Search of Unity and Autocephaly: Ukraine's Orthodox Churches', *Religion, State and Society* 25(4): 393-415. p. 395.
[410] Ibid. p. 396.

in the former Soviet Union were located in Ukraine and about seventy percent of all students training for ministry were Ukrainian, Moscow did not want to relinquish its rule over the church in Ukraine.

Most of the parishes did not support the union and instead formed the Ukrainian Orthodox Church loyal to the Moscow Patriarchate (UOC-MP). As a result, by 1993, Ukraine had three of the world's seventeen Orthodox Churches.[411] In 1994, newly elected President Kuchma disbanded the Council for Religious Affairs that had strongly supported the UOC-KP. A year later he re-established the State Committee for Religious Affairs to promote dialogue between Ukraine's religious denominations. He also advocated a new policy of state separation from church affairs, but recognised that the state has to act as an 'arbitrator in the disputes within Ukraine's religious denominations.'[412] Since many church buildings had become 'national monuments of architecture' during the Soviet days, the post-Soviet government was left with the task of distributing the buildings, embroiling the state in countless disputes between the religious groups. [413]

The actual numbers of adherents to the various Orthodox groups is difficult to determine because official statistics often list the number of worshiping communities or parishes instead of the number of people in the congregations. Furthermore, although the UOC-MP has many parishes in eastern and southern Ukraine, there is also widespread atheism and religious indifference in this region and the number of believers in each parish is quite low.[414] With this in mind, below is a table of the number of parishes belonging to the various Orthodox churches between 1991 and 1999.[415]

---

[411] Wilson *The Ukrainians: Unexpected Nation*. p. 236.
[412] Kuzio 'In Search of Unity and Autocephaly: Ukraine's Orthodox Churches'. p. 408.
[413] In 1995 the bad feelings between the groups were displayed publicly at the burial of Volodymyr, the patriarch of the UOC-KP. Filaret had demanded that Volodymyr be buried in St Sophia's Cathedral, perhaps as a means of pressurising the government to transfer use of the cathedral from the UOC-MP to the UOC-KP. Thousands of funeral marchers turned up and city officials decided to use military force to stop the mourners from burying Volodymyr's body inside the cathedral. The entire area erupted in violence, resulting in the body being buried under the pavement outside of the cathedral for a year before it was reburied next to it. Wilson observes, "accusations flew as to who was to blame, but the upshot was that the supposed state Church, now headed by Filaret, clearly enjoyed no state support and its first patriarch was buried by a bus stop." Wilson *The Ukrainians: Unexpected Nation*. p. 236.
[414] Ibid. p. 236.
[415] Ibid. p. 237, information provided by the UOC-KP and Verkhovna Rada Secretatiat.

	1991	1993	1997	1999
UOC-MP	5,031	5,449	6,882	8,168
UOC-KP		1,904	1,529	2,270
UAOC	811	*	1,167	1,049
Uniate	1,912	2,807	3,098	3,315

** The UAOC was deregistered in 1992-93.*

Although Orthodox Church leaders remain deeply divided, they are united in their distrust of foreign proselytism. In 1996, under pressure from Orthodox leaders, President Kuchma instructed the State Committee for Religious Affairs to protect Ukrainian citizens "from spiritual aggression by active foreign missionary organisations and totalitarian sects."[416] By law, all religious communities must register with the government, ensuring that the government has information about the various religious groups, their practices and beliefs, leadership, schools and locations. According to Taras Hrynchyshyn, Research Director of Religious Information Service of Ukraine, as of January 2002 there were 115 denominations in Ukraine (specifically 72 with Christian roots, 8 – Jewish groups, 4 - Islamic, 7 - neo-pagan, 16 – Eastern religions, 8 – syncretistic sects) and by January 2003 this number had grown to 122.[417] These religious groups are growing in number every year. Some church leaders attribute this growth to the divisions within the Orthodox Church. They compare this to the situation in Russia, where the undivided Orthodox Church has a powerful influence in the government, leading to severe restrictions on non-Orthodox religious groups. The divisions within Ukrainian Orthodoxy mean that there is not a united front of opposition from within the government, and thus religious groups, once registered, are free to grow and develop.[418]

Below is table listing each major denomination in Ukraine and their numerical breakdown, based on information provided by the National Committee on Religious Matters of Ukraine in January 2004.[419]

---

[416] Kuzio 'In Search of Unity and Autocephaly: Ukraine's Orthodox Churches'. p. 406.
[417] He noted that since 2003, official statistics no longer show the full list and number of denominations, because of the small size of some of them, thus some 'marginal' denominations are included into larger groups, like 'Other Orthodox'. Personal email from Taras Hrynchyshyn, Research Director of the Religious Information Service of Ukraine, 're: Number of Registered Religious Groups' received on 13/7/2004.
[418] See Nikolai Mitrokhin 2001 'Aspects of the Religious Situation in Ukraine', *Religion, State and Society* 29(3): 173-196. And Dana Liss 2002 'Missionaries Find Fertile Ground', *Kyiv Post*.
[419] From the webpage of the *Religious Information Service of Ukraine*, www.risu.org.ua (viewed on 23.6.04), 'Statistics on Religion in Ukraine'.

Institutions Name of Church or Religious Denomination	Communities[420]	Pastoral Ministers[421]	Monasteries Missions	Educational Institutions and student numbers[422]	Sunday Schools
Ukrainian Orthodox Church (of the Moscow Patriarchate)	10310 / 74	8620 / 13	151 4095 Monks and Nuns 5 Missions	15 1698 / 2584 Students	3746
Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Kievan Patriarchate	3352 / 43	2588	34 185 Monks and Nuns 23 Missions	16 916 / 565 Students	1086
Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church	1154 / 2	685	5 7 Missions	7 181 / 77 Students	325
Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church (Uniate Church)	3328 / 12	2051 / 47	92 1134 Monks and Nuns 9 Missions	13 1385 / 196 Students	1132
Roman Catholic Church	854 / 9	474 / 268	80 635 Monks and Nuns 37 Missions	7 338 / 444 Students	518
Armenian Apostolic Church	20	14 / 9			3
Old Believers	61 / 9	35 / 5	2 4 Monks		10
Baptist Union	2311 / 56	2818 / 16	80 Missions	40 2169 / 4718 Students	1339
Other Baptists	382 / 52	502 / 22	15 Missions	8 347 / 232 Students	183
Pentecostal Union	1349 / 75	2152 / 12	50 Missions	15 723 / 175 Students	956
Other Pentecostals	504 / 143	690 / 10	21 Missions	7 144 / 205 Students	287
Full Gospel Church (Charismatics)	437 / 1	494 / 7	6 Missions	3 500 / 25 Students	174
Other Charismatics	444 / 37	590 / 6	8 Missions	6 415 / 50 Students	248
7th Day Adventists	941 / 50	1166 / 6	2 Missions	3 55 / 427 Students	669
Sub-Carpathian Reformed Church	107 / 2	68 / 8			105
Lutherans	84 / 2	80 / 9		2 17 Students	43
Other Protestant Communities and Centres	189 / 9	275 / 36	1 Missions	2 38 / 162 Students	92
Mormons	32 / 24	309 / 110			46
Jehovah's Witnesses	579 / 339	1936 / 34			233
Jewish Communities	239 / 1	136 / 60	1 Missions	5 81 / 30 Students	77
Muslims	445 / 22	433 / 20		7 276 Students	90
Society of Krishna Consciousness	30 / 8	43 / 1		2 150 / 50 students	7
Buddhists	42 / 3	35	1 5 monks		2
Other Eastern Religions	22 / 16	37			3
Pagan Communities	75 / 2	342 / 29	1 mission	2 25 / 9 Students	13
Other Faiths	288 / 56	342 / 29	12 Missions	3 - / 43 Students	66
Total in Ukraine	27,579 / 1047	26,650 of which 728 are foreign citizens	365 6070 Monks and Nuns 283 Missions	163 9458 / 9992 Students	11,453

[420] The first figure denotes communities (parishes) whose statutes are fully registered according to legal requirements; the second figure denotes communities that operate without registration, which is allowed according to Ukrainian legislation.

[421] The first number is the number of priests or ministers, the second number is how many of those are foreign citizens.

[422] The first figure denotes the number of educational establishments; the second figure the number of full-time students; the third figure the number of part-time (correspondence) students.

Again, this chart only gives an estimation of the size of various religious groups, because it lists the number of parishes, instead of the number of members of a particular group. Further research is needed to gain a more accurate picture of the current situation of religious denominations.

This concludes the overview of the Ukrainian visual context and religious history. With this background in mind, it is now possible to engage with the contemporary situation in Ukraine, particularly the use of the visual and what it indicates about the spirituality of young people.

Chapter 4

Research Results: Spirituality and Images

In Chapter 1, the term 'spirituality' was operationally defined as the innate propensity within human beings to make sense of their existence. Spirituality is identified within the data in terms of the core human needs as they are expressed as the search for identity, security, community affiliation, ultimate meaning and experiences of transcendence. This desire for a sense of transcendence is not confined to traditional religious forms. Mention was also made in Chapter 1 of the notion that the religious imagination is expressed through the symbols available to people. This chapter looks at the function of images as one of the symbolic means by which spirituality may be expressed.

In the previous chapter, we saw that for centuries Orthodox icons were a means of expressing the spiritual search for transcendence. Later, Soviet art, monuments and posters sought to dislodge and replace this function of these images. The question addressed in this chapter is: what images do young people turn to now to explore questions of meaning and transcendence? In the first section, an overview of the results of the image archive photo elicitation interviews and the content analysis of student walls are reported, followed by the discoveries made about the way that students interacted with the images on their walls. Then, the results are described regarding student attitudes to four types of images whose function corresponds with the historical spiritual use of images: Soviet monuments, adverts, Orthodox icons and posters of pop stars. This is followed by a section that describes the 'raw' spirituality that emerged through talking with the students about the images in their living space. The final part of this chapter looks at the results in terms of religious forms.

Results overview in terms of image type

As described in Chapter 2, each interview began with an opportunity for the student to look through an archive of fifty-five images. They were asked to take out all the images they would never place on their walls. Then, from the remaining images, they were asked to select five or less which they would definitely be willing to put in their personal space.

Category of Image	Definitely put one up
Music pop star (15)	10
Religious (3)	7
Adverts & logos (9)	2
Environ. / Aesthetic (10)	49
Television / Films (5)	0
Sports Stars (2)	2
Politician (6)	8
Monuments (3)	3
Friends (1)	3
Erotic (1)	0

A list of each image in the archive, with a brief description, and its popularity with the respondents can be found in Appendix 2, along with a second chart that shows the respondents' codes[423] and their individual choices for each image. To the left is a table that summarises the responses by category. The number of images in each category is in parentheses after the category name.

Looking at the table above, it is clear that by far the most popular types of images were the pictures of landscapes or art prints. In fact, the two most popular images were a photograph of a close up of a red rose and a photograph of the Austrian Alps from a travel magazine. It was surprising that music pop stars did not feature more in the results, since this was predicted from the background interviews. There could be several reasons for this. First, although a range of music artists were chosen from various styles from both Western and Slavic pop scenes; it is possible music tastes are so fragmented that it would have been impossible to represent everyone's preference. Second, many students hesitated to choose a picture that contained a person for their walls. Only fourteen of the images in the archive did not have a person in them. Of the ten most popular images, nine of them were those that did not have people in them. A photograph of Jim Morrison was the one picture that broke with this norm. This development will be discussed further in a later section of this chapter.

---

[423] Throughout the dissertation, a code is used to designate each photo elicitation interview. Age of interviewee – gender – university – date of interview. Hence, '17-M-KM-130202' refers to an interview with a seventeen year-old male student from Kiev Mohyla Academy on 13 February 2002.

Photographs of the students' walls were taken and used to perform a content analysis of the images within the photographs. Below is a table that shows eight categories of images and how many from each appeared on the students' walls:

Person	126
Place	24
Animal	10
Product	0
Symbol	13
Text	22
Cartoon	5
Object	29

The category of 'person' was subdivided into various types:

Pop star	59
Sport star	9
Saint	18
Friend/family	14
Politician	3
Unknown	23

The results also revealed that 185 of the images were mass-produced, leaving 44 that were handmade, including photographs taken by the student. Appendix 3 gives an example of the content analysis of one student's room.

It was surprising to find so many images of people on student walls, particularly after their hesitancy to put pictures of people from the photo archive on their walls. However, one student alone put 41 pictures of people on the wall, and two others put 16 each. Thus, these three students together accounted for 73 pictures of people, over half the pictures of people. In the analysis of types of people pictures, the largest category is 'pop star'. Yet, one respondent alone had 38 pop stars on her wall, leaving only 21 amongst the remainder of the students. We turn to the significance of placing an image of a person on the wall in the next section.

Rationale for Placing Images in Living Space[424]

This section discusses the criteria that students used to choose images for their living space. These observations provide a basis for the analysis in the remainder of the chapter of the innate spirituality of students, as revealed through their use of images. The first finding is that students placed images on their walls for interaction. The second discovery is that placing images of known people is not culturally acceptable. Finally, the third observation is that placing an image of a person on the wall was a means of elevating the ideals of the person portrayed.[425]

Students placed images on the walls for interaction

One of the most interesting aspects of this research was listening to students as they explained how they chose what to put on their walls. First, almost all of the students said that they put up images that they identify with in some way. Second, sixteen of the twenty stated that their choice of the image depended in some part on the aesthetic appeal of the image. Third, almost half of the students stated that their choice of whether to put a person on the wall related to whether they identified with the ideals of the person pictured. Moreover, several of the students stated that whether they had positive or negative associations with what was pictured also influenced their choice. Furthermore, it became evident that if students did not understand or recognise an image, then it was unlikely that they would put it on their wall. Finally, four of the students said that whether or not they 'worshiped' what is portrayed would factor into their decision of placing it on the wall.

Students sometimes stated their reasons for not putting pictures on the wall rather emphatically. Four of the students said that they prefer the real presence of something, rather than the likeness. For example, one student, looking at an image from the archive that she thought was the moon, said she would not choose the picture, because "I like to look on the moon through my window or from the balcony."[426] Another student said

---

[424] This section is based on a paper presented at the International Visual Sociology Association Conference 'Images of Social Life', held 8-10 July 2003 in Southampton. The paper was entitled "Visualising Hope: A visual ethnographic study of the search for the transcendent among Ukrainian students."

[425] A note about the raw data in this chapter: Phrases and sentences within quotation marks are drawn directly from the interview transcripts and are followed by a reference to the interview in the footnote. Additionally, since it was necessary to paraphrase many of the remarks that students made due to grammatical errors or translation complexities, these comments are prefaced by a phrase such as 'the student said that' and are followed by a footnote noting the interview.

[426] From interview 23-F-KM-020402.

"because I see my mother often, I don't think there is such necessity to put her picture on the wall."[427] Two of the students said that they did not want to put up images on the wall because they feared the picture would manipulate them. In addition, several said that certain images evoked too many emotions, or they were afraid they might affect their mood. Two of the students stated that they do not put pictures on the wall in principle; it is simply not their 'habit'. Finally, as previously mentioned, one student said that she does not put pictures up in her room in student accommodation because she does not feel at 'home' there.[428]

Nevertheless, the students were also eager to give reasons for why they would put images on their walls. Half of them stated that some of pictures on their walls were placed there because they were gifts. It emerged that sometimes the value of the image was primarily as a reminder of the relationship with the giver. For example, a student explained the significance of a poster of a horse on her wall, saying, "it's just a gift and we put it on the wall to remember the person who gave it to us."[429] Another student had a painting of a naked girl on his wall, given to him by his former girlfriend. He said that his picture 'symbolises my ex-girlfriend who painted it."[430] Another student who had 19 images on her wall, mostly cards and postcards, told me that 18 of them were gifts. When asked why she put them on her wall, she said, "because they are pretty, they are cool looking, and it's also a memory, to remind me to pray for the people [who gave the cards]."[431] In all, students specifically said that 50 pictures or posters were gifts, a large proportion of the 219 images studied in the content analysis of their rooms. When one student was asked how she chooses what to put on her walls, she said that it was not only a decision about what was aesthetically pleasing, but was more about the people who gave her the images, and how they knew what she liked and how that symbolised their relationship. She even went on to explain that she would not mind loosing the pictures, because "for me it is more important that this certain person who gave me this thing exists, but not the thing itself. I mean, I'm glad to have this thing, but people are more important for me, relationships more than things."[432] Thus for these students, the main reason the picture was on the wall was to remind them of the person who gave it to them.

---

[427] From interview 20-F-KM-050302.
[428] From interview 19-F-KM-030202.
[429] From interview 22-F-AS-020502.
[430] From interview 21-M-KM-090402.
[431] From interview 23-F-NL-180602.
[432] From interview 20-F-KM-130202.

Fifteen of the students spoke about their response evoked by the image as a reason for putting the picture on the wall. For example, some stated that they liked images that were inspiring and empowering. Others said they liked mysterious, incomprehensible pictures. Four of the students said they liked certain images because it gave them someone to contemplate, and four others stated that the images were for prayer. One student said that he preferred pictures that give him something to aspire to, and another student said he liked images that evoke a tension. It became clear that for most students, images on the wall were for interaction, either as reminder or for inspiration.

Placing images of known people on the wall was not culturally acceptable

A photograph of three students sitting together with their arms around each other's shoulders was included in the image archive. It was digitally altered to blur the faces of the students *(shown here)*. Above the photograph was a caption in Russian which said, 'Your friends'. This was included to test whether students would prioritise putting a photograph of their friends on the wall. Since relationships and friendship appeared to be valued highly by these Ukrainian students, it was surprising that only three of them said they would definitely put up a photograph of their friends. Interestingly, two of these students had lived in the USA for a year on a student exchange, and one of them mentioned that her time in the States had influenced her wall decorating habits. She also said that she would only put up pictures of friends on the wall if she really admired them.[433]

However, the majority of students were not comfortable putting photographs of friends or family on the wall. When probed to discover why this was the case, students gave several reasons. First, four of the students simply stated that it is not appropriate to put a photograph of a person on the wall. Seven students elaborated and explained that pictures of friends or family belong in a photo album or in a frame, but not on the wall. For example, one interviewee said, "photos with people are kept primarily in my albums. I can look through them very often. As I've already said, what I like more is to look at

---

[433] From interview 23-F-KM-180602.

something [on the wall] connected with nature, not with people."[434] Five of the students said that they did not think it was necessary to put photographs of friends of the wall, because they could see them or remember them in 'real life.' One student indicated that the level of friendship might indicate whether he would put their picture on the wall, saying "I don't have close enough friends for [putting their photograph on the wall]."[435] One interviewee explained that putting photographs of people of the wall is 'not normally done.'[436] Another said, "we don't have such a tradition to put the photos of friends on the wall."[437]

The research findings appear to support their generalisations. When the content analysis of the students' use of images in their living space was performed, six displayed photographs of normal, known people, but only three of these students placed these images on their wall, the other photographs were placed on a shelf or on a table. For example, one student had a photograph on her wall picturing her and her brother in Jerusalem at an Elvis café. This photograph was valued more as a reminder of trip than as a symbol of her relationship with her brother. Another student had a shelf with framed pictures of her mother and grandmother and a picture of herself at an important conference. However, on her walls she had two photographs of herself – one of her as a child and one taken recently. It became clear that these photographs and, in fact, all the images on her wall were a means of elevating herself and her ideals. Furthermore, the third student to have photographs of a known person on his wall also placed self-referential meaning on these images. He had several photographs of his girlfriend, one that he had digitally altered, so that the outline of her face looked like a constellation, the other a photograph of a close up of her face in profile. *(Both images are shown here on his wall).* When asked what these photographs meant to him, he said, "I

[434] From interview 20-F-KM-130202.
[435] From interview 19-M-SI-280302.
[436] From interview 20-F-KM-050302.
[437] From interview 22-M-AS-150502.

like just the quality of the picture. Not even the idea, but the technique. I made this photo with a rather good camera."[438] Thus, these few photographs of known people on student walls were highly self-referential, and did not appear to symbolise or represent relationships.

Placing an image of a person on the wall is a means of elevating their ideals

As stated above, the images of pop stars in the image archive were not very popular. Only a few students said they would definitely put one up, with Jim Morrison's image the most popular with four 'votes'. Youth subcultures are highly fragmented in Ukraine, so that there were very few pop stars that could transcend individual taste. A few superstars were chosen to do just that, such as Madonna, Jimmy Hendrix and a few well-known Eastern European stars, but it was only marginally successful with Jim Morrison. Two students said categorically that they would not put up a picture of a pop star on their wall, with one of these students explaining that images of pop stars are too commercialised.[439]

However, half of the students said that they would put a pop star on the wall if they identified with the performer's song lyrics or the ideals that performer represented. For example, one student had two posters of Kurt Cobain and Viktor Tsoi in a prime position over his bed. *(These two posters are pictured here).* He explained that he put up Viktor Tsoi's poster because it is the words of his music that 'impress' him, not the sound of the music.[440] He also said that he put up the poster of Kurt Cobain because not only does he respect him as a person, but also he likes his lyrics so much that he was trying to translate them into Russian. Furthermore, one interviewee explained that she would put up a picture of Jim Morrison because his life is 'extraordinary, original'. She said, "[His life] attracts me in some way. I don't know, he's a kind of mystical man for me in some way."[441] Another student said that putting a picture of a pop star on her wall was

---

[438] From interview 20-M-KM-050202.
[439] From interview 19-F-KM-030202.
[440] From interview 17-M-SU-110402.
[441] From interview 20-F-KM-130202.

spiritually significant. "Like the portraits of the Beatles. It is something transcendental."[442] She further explained that pop stars "are not just artists. You see, Jimmy Hendrix and Jim Morrison are legendary persons. [They were part of] the revolution in consciousness that took place in America in the 60s. . . Jimmy Hendrix with his great music and anti-military songs and Jim Morrison with his psychedelic music and his freedom and love and anti-military slogans. And Aquarium, Boris Grebenschikov is the symbol of Russian non-official culture, and he has been for thirty years." It became evident that placing the images of pop stars on the walls was more than just an appreciation of the performer's music; it was a way of elevating the ideals of the artist represented.

This observation was negatively confirmed when testing the students' attitudes toward politicians. Six images were included of well-known political figures, such as Leonid Kuchma, the President of Ukraine at the time of the interviews, Yulia Tymoshenko, an opposition party leader, Vitaliy Kononov, the Green Party leader, Taras Sevchenko, a Ukrainian nationalist of the last century, and Che Gevara, a Cuban revolutionary. This was a test to see whether students recognised these people, and whether their political affiliation might be linked with the students' identity with a subculture. Generally, these political images were not very popular, with the exception of two students who said they would definitely put the cartoon drawing of Tymoshenko on their wall, and three students who said they would definitely put up the image of Che Gevara. One student who said he would put both these images on his wall explained that the image of Tymoshenko is a symbol of opposition, and Che Gervara's image symbolises revolution.[443] Another student said that the image of Che Gervara is very 'cool' and has become a popular symbol amongst movements of 'discontented young people'.[444]

Despite the Green Party's huge publicity campaign in Ukraine targeted at young people, few of the students recognised the photograph of the Green Party leader. None of the students wanted to put his picture on their wall and sixteen students said they would 'never' put up his image. According to one of the students, the Green Party sought to draw many adherents from the Hip Hop and extreme sports youth subculture. He said that the party had sought to extend their influence by giving away free posters of a popular

---

[442] From interview 22-F-AS-020502.
[443] From interview 21-M-KM-090402.
[444] From interview 19-M-SI-280302.

Ukrainian band with the Green Party logo on it. This student, although registered with the Green Party, explained that he was disillusioned by the commercialism of the party, and planned to vote for a different party in the coming election.[445]

Only two students said they would put up the photograph of President Kuchma, pictured with his hand on the Bible at his inauguration. *(Pictured on page 157).* However, both students said they would only put his image up in a cynical, joking way. One student pointed out how hypocritical it was for Kuchma, who swore he was an atheist until Ukraine became independent, to take an oath and swear on the Bible. Another student said that he does not trust Kuchma because he does "very bad things" and he wants to be the 'king' but is afraid and does not know how to rule.[446] In fact, six of the students unprompted said that they have no respect for Kuchma, and little respect for most other political leaders.

Only three students had images of political leaders in their living space. One student put a picture of the former Prime Minister and opposition leader, Yushchenko as the 'wallpaper' on his computer's desktop *(pictured)*.[447] He said that it was to demonstrate his political preference and to remind himself of his loyalty, "like some kind of schizophrenia."[448] This was the only student who placed a politician on his wall because he admired him.[449] Another student put up a clipping from a newspaper of the profile of a politician, but he said putting it up was random and "for fun."[450] Another student had placed on her wall a postcard of a cartoon style drawing of one of the political candidates. She explained that she liked this candidate's representation of himself, because it was not as serious as all the other politicians. She said, "it was a very good way to entertain the people who vote for

---

[445] From interview 19-M-SI-280302.
[446] From interview 17-M-KM-130202.
[447] Yushchenko became president of Ukraine in January 2005.
[448] From interview 19-M-SI-280302.
[449] This foreshadowed later political developments two years on, when Yushchenko's campaign for the presidency gave hope to thousands of Ukrainians of all ages who rallied around him on the streets of Kiev.
[450] From interview 20-M-KM-050202.

him."[451] However, these latter two instances of political interest are vague, and, at the time of the research, most students appeared to have little, if any, interest in politics. A student who had been paid to hand out leaflets for one of the candidates in that year's parliamentary election said that for the first time his eyes were opened and he saw that politicians were all 'frauds'.[452] Another student said that most politicians were 'hypocritical' and "still function in the old Soviet style."[453] Overall, amongst students, the prevailing view of political leaders was one of cynical scepticism and their images were not popular on student walls.[454]

A print of a painting of Taras Shevchenko that was discovered at a modern art exhibition in Kiev entitled, 'Brand Ukraine' was included in the image archive. Shevchenko is often referred to as the "bard of Ukraine" because he campaigned to preserve the Ukrainian language by writing poetry in Ukrainian during a time of Russification under the Russian Empire, as mentioned in Chapter 3. His portrait was included to test for nationalist attitudes among the students. Three students said that Shevchenko is a symbol of the Ukrainian nation. However, two of those students explained they would not put his image on their wall, because they do not consider themselves to be Ukrainian. Both hold Ukrainian passports and have lived all their lives in Ukraine, but one has a Jewish heritage and the other is from Crimea, a Russian-speaking region Ukraine. However, the third student had a strong sense of national identity, and was the only student to say that he would definitely put the image of Shevchenko on his wall. He said, "I respect him. He is the father of our nation. His poems were about the freedom of the Ukrainian nation."[455] He said that if he put this picture on his wall, people who came into his room would "learn that I am Ukrainian." Interestingly, his wall space above his bed was dominated by a large Ukrainian flag *(pictured)*. He said that the flag is an expression of his national identity as a Ukrainian. Significantly, this particular student was from western Ukraine, which, for historical

---

[451] From interview 20-F-KM-050302.
[452] From interview 17-M-SU-110402.
[453] From interview 20-F-KM-050302.
[454] The research was conducted primarily in 2002, when it appeared that Kuchma and his former KGB allies had a stranglehold on the government.
[455] From interview 17-M-KM-130202.

reasons stated in the previous chapter, tends to be much more patriotic. For the most part, students did not express strong nationalistic sentiments. Instead, as will be shown later in the chapter, their identity was associated with their subculture.

Hence, by listening to students talk about the images in their rooms, it was discovered that students often placed images on their wall for interaction. It became evident that placing an image of a person on the wall was a means of elevating their ideals, but this act of reverence was only appropriate for images of famous people. Based on the historical spiritual function of images in Ukraine, in this context, placing an image on a wall may be an act of veneration, which is the foundation for using images to uncover young people's deeply personal urge to find ultimate meaning. The following section looks at four types of images to see whether they performed a spiritual function for the young people interviewed.

The Contemporary Spiritual Function of the Visual in Ukraine[456]

This section builds on the spiritual function of images that was described in the previous chapter. We begin with the results of the research regarding Soviet monuments and advertising, which are both images in public space and images explicitly designed to persuade. This is followed by a description of the findings regarding students' use of icons and images of pop stars, both which are images often found in personal space.

Soviet Monuments

In Kiev city centre, a monument portraying Lenin is visible from Khreshatik, the central avenue of the city. Built in 1946, the Soviet leader is depicted leaning forward and gazing into the distance *(pictured)*. In order to gain a general sense of people's attitudes toward Soviet monuments, three assistants and I conducted an administered survey of 148 respondents on 23 May 2002 on the street within sight of the monument depicting

[456] The observations within this section were first presented in a paper entitled "Images of Ukrainian Young People's Quest for Transcendence" given at an international conference held 9-12 April 2003 in Vilnius, Lithuania called 'Religion and Democracy: An Exchange of Experiences Between East and West', organised by the Centre for Studies on New Religions (CESNUR).

Lenin.[457] The survey consisted of six questions, including an option for people to place themselves within an age category so that the results could be analysed by age.[458]

The respondents were asked why they thought that the monument was originally placed there. Most people, 36%, thought it was placed there for historical education, while 30%, mostly young people, thought it was placed there for propaganda, and 24% thought it was erected to honour a great leader. Only 5% believed it was placed there by the will of the people.

When asked what they think the monument meant to people twenty-five years ago, 49% of the respondents agreed that people believed that Lenin was a great leader. However, when asked what the monument means to people now, a majority, 60%, believed that people see it as a marker of the historical past, while a small number said its main function was a place for tourists to take photographs. One young person said that twenty-five years ago there "was a need for symbols." Another young person said, "the fate of the monument and the leader are sad."

Finally, when asked whether they thought the monument should be taken down, 49% said that the monument should be left, and a further 30% said that it should definitely stay. Only 12% of the respondents thought that it should definitely be taken down, showing that generally people do not have strong feelings against the presence of the monument.

The questions about the monument evoked the strongest emotions in people in the highest age category. One older man felt so strongly about his answers to the survey that he insisted on signing his name to the survey sheet. Several others expressed similar strong sentiments. For example, one older person said, "I don't want to talk about the monument, this man [Lenin] ruined my life." Another older person said that Lenin represented moral values without God and the Bible. One person summed up the older generation's views by saying that the monument is just something from the past, which should be left in the past. Additionally, a tendency to deny the past was evidenced when an older woman insisted that it was a monument of Shevchenko, not Lenin, even though Lenin's name was engraved in foot-high letters at the base of the monument. Remarkably,

---

[457] The survey questions and the full results are included in Appendix 4.

[458] The five categories: Under 18, 18-30, 31-45, 46-60, 60 +. The first two categories are referred to as 'young people' and the last two referred to as 'older people'.

several minutes later another older woman also said that the monument was of Shevchenko.

Although Lenin's plan for monument building did indeed influence the masses to a certain extent, his programme failed to replace icons. The results of this administered questionnaire indicate that although Lenin's statue may evoke a few strong feelings in the hearts of older Kievans, his image seems impotent to affect the younger generations, who, although they show an awareness of the historical manipulative use of the image, see it as a harmless record of the past. Since this sample is rather small, the data does not conclusively represent the general population of Kiev. However, it was useful in providing a general sense of people's reaction to the monument.

This general response among young people was supported in the primary research of interviews and photo elicitation. The findings showed that most students were ambivalent toward Soviet monuments. Specifically, three photographs of monuments were included in the image elicitation archive. The first was a large monument called 'Mother of our Motherland', sometimes affectionately shortened to 'Metal Mama' *(pictured on p. 99).* The Soviets built the monument to celebrate the victory after the Second World War and the base of the monument houses a museum of artefacts from the war. The statue stands seventy-two meters high and is made almost entirely out of metal. Only one of the students said that he would 'definitely' put a photograph of this monument on their wall, because he said it evokes feelings of patriotism whenever he sees the monument in the distance.[459] Another student said that it was a great privilege that she could see this famous monument from her window.[460] Apart from these two, all other students showed no interest in the monument.

A photograph from an exhibition entitled, 'Brand Ukrainian' in the Kiev Museum of Modern Art was also included. The photograph depicts an old Soviet monument to the worker set in an overgrown field *(pictured).* This photograph was included to test

[459] From interview 17-M-SU-110402.
[460] From interview 20-F-KM-050302.

whether the students engaged with the photographer's idea of lost identity or even the decay of Soviet ideals. However, most students did not interact with this photograph, although one student said she would like the photograph of the field if it did not have a monument in it.[461] Another student looked at the photograph long enough say that monuments depicting workers symbolised the 'stupidity' of the people who unthinkingly obeyed the government.[462] He said that his father had actively campaigned for the removal of Soviet monuments in his village in western Ukraine.

This student also disliked the photograph of a Lenin monument *(pictured on p. 106)* in the image archive, because of his feelings about Lenin: "I don't respect him. I don't believe him. And I think he was wrong."[463] Most responses to this image ranged from strongly negative to ambivalent. One female student said that she dislikes the photograph of the Lenin monument because of his 'violent deeds'.[464] Another student said that she would only put the photograph of the Lenin monument on her wall as 'a joke.' She then paused and said, "But why joke about it?"[465] Interestingly, one student said that Lenin is the symbol of an historical epoch in Ukrainian history. But he also remarked that it is strange how people could respect someone so evil, and compared this phenomenon with putting a picture of a dinosaur from the film Jurassic Park on their wall – it shows a fascination with what is evil or frightening.[466] Furthermore, this student sought to play on the tension between Soviet and Orthodox images, saying that he would like to place the photograph of the Lenin monument next to the icon of the Mother of God. He said he likes the 'antagonism' between these two images, yet remarked that when people saw these two images together on his wall they would think he was an atheist. Only one student had a positive response to the photograph, saying that he would definitely put the photograph on his wall, because he likes all monuments of Lenin. He also said that he considers Lenin to have been not only a clever person but also extremely influential in history. He said that people have twisted Lenin's image into something that does not correlate with his actual life.[467]

---

[461] From interview 20-F-KM-130202.
[462] From interview 17-M-KM-130202.
[463] From interview 17-M-KM-130202.
[464] From interview 22-F-AS-020502.
[465] From interview 23-F-NL-180602.
[466] From interview 20-M-KM-050202.
[467] From interview 17-M-SU-110402.

Generally, students were not overly concerned with Soviet monuments and none of the students used these images in their living space as an expression of their spiritual quest for meaning. Perhaps, now perceived as historical images, these structures have lost their power to persuade and influence. Art historian Boime observed that monuments could hide the gap between promise and reality.[468] Perhaps this gap has now been laid open to people in post-Soviet society, and the monuments are powerless to shape a sense of transcendence for the people.

Advertisements

There are now new images that dominate public space in Kiev designed to hide the gap between promise and reality - advertisements. James Twitchell, a lecturer in Advertising and Society at the University of Florida, argues that advertising attempts to channel people's consumption, not necessarily in terms of need, but by creating a meaning associated with a particular brand of product. Essentially, he argues that it is not only the product that is consumed, but also the meaning behind the product. Through many examples, he demonstrates that in the United States, advertising invites people to construct their worldview based on consumer choices. In fact, Twitchell goes so far as to say that "modern consumerism is not a replacement of religion but a continuation, a secularising, of a struggle for order."[469] Therefore, advertising can promote a particular spirituality, in the sense that it offers to tell people how they should live, who they should be, and what should be the purpose of their lives. Since post-Soviet society has a history of images in public space that seek to influence viewers, this research sought to discover whether young people were sensitive to the manipulative power of advertisements, and whether they incorporated them into their quest for ultimate meaning.

Five adverts were included in the image elicitation archive, drawn from youth magazines and advertising beer, jeans, a radio station, 'Goth' style clothing and a role-play game. The adverts were the most unpopular images, with consistently three quarters of the students responding that they would never put these images on their walls. None of the students said they would 'definitely' put one of the adverts on their wall. Adverts are images that are intended for public space, so it is not surprising that students did not want to put them on their walls. It is also possible that since the market is fragmented, the

---

[468] Boime *The Unveiling of the National Icons*. p. 17.
[469] James Twitchell 1996 *Adcult: USA*. New York: Columbia University Press. p. 110.

unpopularity of the adverts in the archive was due to the particular brands that were represented. Nonetheless, their inclusion in the archive provided an opportunity to talk to students about their general attitudes toward advertisements.

One student said, "I generally don't like advertising, on TV or just in the city or something. I don't like this."[470] Four students explained that they would not put adverts on the walls because there are already too many of them around. One student, while looking at one of the magazine adverts in the image archive said, "this kind of picture I can see every day while using the Internet, but I would not put it on my wall. I consider that on my wall I can put something more original."[471] Looking at an advert for a radio station from the image archive, another student said, "I do not like it very much, it's just, for me, advertising, simply advertising. I can just open a newspaper and see this, but I just do not want to hang it on the wall."[472] Only one student had an advert on the wall in his room, a notice for the radio station 'Shanson.'[473] Interestingly, this student, who participated in the 'week of my life' photograph project, intentionally included three photographs of advertisements in his depiction of his week, as mentioned in the Chapter 2. When asked why he chose to photograph advertisements, he explained that he sees them every day and so they have become a part of his life[474] *(pictured is one of his photographs).*

Two images of brand logos, Nike and Quicksilver, were included in the archive to test whether students recognised the brand associated with the logo and whether they felt any sense of brand loyalty to the product represented. None of the students said they would put either of the logos on their walls. For example, looking at the Quicksilver logo, one student said that it only had commercial associations for her and did not evoke any sort of emotional response.[475] Although none of the students recognised the Quicksilver logo, all of the students were familiar with the Nike logo. However, only one student exhibited any

---

[470] From interview 18-F-SU-080502.
[471] From interview 20-F-KM-130202.
[472] From interview 19-F-NL-290402.
[473] 'Шансон', 103.8 FM, often played by the drivers of buses and route taxis. From interview 20-M-KM-050202.
[474] From Photo Case Study interview with Yuri Akimov, 27 June 2002.
[475] From interview 20-F-KM-130202.

sense of brand loyalty. He said, "You know, I do have Nike clothes, and I only know that they are a sports clothing firm. But even if I do have Nike clothes, I don't see any reason to put this [logo] on the wall."[476]

All the other students interviewed showed little awareness of or interest in brands. This was particularly relevant to this research, since it sought to discover whether brand loyalty and the use of logos functioned as a spirituality, giving students a consumer identity, similar to the way that icons can identify a person as Orthodox, or as the Soviet monuments sought to give people a sense of Soviet identity. Brand loyalty was explicitly tested for in the interviews when the students were asked whether they had a favourite brand name. None of the students could name a brand or trademark that they particularly liked. One student told me, "I just do not buy clothing in shops. Because it is very expensive, you know. I just shop in the market, and there is no logo or brand on these clothes, because it is cheaper than in the shops."[477] A Ukrainian friend explained that there is no history of brand loyalty, since during the time of the Soviet Union, people never knew which products would be available in the shops. For example, one month there might be orange juice from Germany. The next month there would not be any orange juice, and the following month the orange juice would be from Russia. People were forced to buy what was available and did not have the luxury of loyalty to a brand.

The research showed that most students do not have the financial means or opportunity to buy only certain brands, which means that brand loyalty is not a source of identity for them. Therefore, consumer images did not function as spiritual images in terms of identity for students, who demonstrated little interest in advertising and for whom brand loyalty appeared to be non-existent. In fact, there appeared to be an underlying cynicism toward the credibility of advertising. [478]

---

[476] From interview 19-F-NL-290402.
[477] From interview 19-F-NL-290402.
[478] TNS Socis, a Ukrainian polling organisation, surveyed 8,400 people in January 2001 about their attitudes toward the credibility of advertising. They found that two-thirds of those surveyed believed that the information provided by television advertising was not useful. And in rating the various mediums of advertising, they found that 24% of their respondents consider television advertising the most credible medium, 12% thought that newspaper advertising was the most credible, 4% thought radio and magazine adverts were the most credible, and transit and outdoor advertising were the least likely mediums to be considered credible. They concluded that the Ukrainian public is suspicious of the claims of advertising. Evgenia Mussuri, 15-11-2001 'Surveys reflect consumer attitudes to ads' *Kyiv Post*, Kyiv, Ukraine, section B, p. 13.

Although students did not use advertising in identity building, it is argued here that these images can offer a measure of secular transcendence. Just as icons educated people about the spiritual realm, and Soviet images taught people to dream of the future socialist utopia, advertising offers a vision of how life could be. Slavoj Zizek, senior researcher at the Institute for Social Studies in Ljubljana, argues that the ideology of consumption that comes out of the USA can be critiqued more easily by cultures that also experienced the Enlightenment and modernism. However, according to Zizek, developing, premodern countries are unable to "generate a strong enough resistance to the ideology of the American Dream."[479] His observations are indicative of the situation in Ukraine, because materialism is a major motivator there. A student who had spent a year in the United States said that the most important lesson she learned was that having money does not solve all one's problems. She said this was an important lesson to learn, since many of 'her people' sincerely believe that material wealth will lead to perfect happiness.[480] During the time of the Soviet Union, the wealthier Communist party members lived separately creating a situation whereby the working class did not know what sort of lifestyle they were missing. Now, advertising images in the city depict a different reality from the actual situation of most people. *(Pictured is a shopping street in Kiev with old Soviet-style flats above.)* On a mundane level, these images provide a measure of transcendence, a vision of a possible future lifestyle.

Icons

The discussion now turns from monuments and advertising – images thrust upon people – to images more commonly used in personal space – icons and posters of pop stars. Following on from the historical background of icons described in the previous chapter, this section reports on the contemporary use of icons by the students who participated in the case study.

---

[479] Slavoj Zizek 2002 *Wecome to the Desert of the Real*. London: Verso. p. 146.
[480] Notes based on an informal interview with Anna Feltina, 17 May 2001, Kiev, Ukraine.

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, icons are increasing in popularity and found throughout Kiev. Because icons are now mass-produced, they are prolific and easily affordable. *(Pictured is an icon kiosk outside a church).* Many churches are filled with icons, including both originals painted on wood and cheap colour photocopies that are taped to the walls. Indeed, the mass production of icons has become somewhat problematic. A young Orthodox student explained that when all icons were prayerfully written on wood, they were considered very holy and sacred, but this sense is lost on mass-produced icons. For example, he wondered whether an icon is holy if it is a print in a book. Furthermore, since he had three paper icons of the Mother of God, he was not certain which one he should pray before. He also did not know how to dispose of a damaged paper icon - whether it would be disrespectful to put it in the bin. The interviews aimed to discover how the icon fared in this new context and whether these traditional images had a spiritual function for young people.

An icon of the Mother of God was included in the photo elicitation archive in order to draw out from each student his or her attitudes toward icons.[481] This icon was not very popular – only four students said that they would definitely put it on their wall. When probed about this positive attitude toward icons in personal living space, one student said, "You know, I was born in this family where my grandpa and grandma were very religious people. And my father and my mother. And my mother's grandfather was a priest. You know, I am Orthodox."[482] He said that when people see an icon on his wall, they would know that he is a religious person. Another student said that she would put the icon on her wall, because her parents were religious and taught her to pray. Thus, the icon would represent that she was a religious person and that she believes in God.[483] For these two students, icons had a spiritual function in the sense of communicating their religious

---

[481] A few of the students asked whether this image, taken from a book, was 'a real icon' or a 'picture of an icon'. They were told that it was meant to represent a 'real icon.'

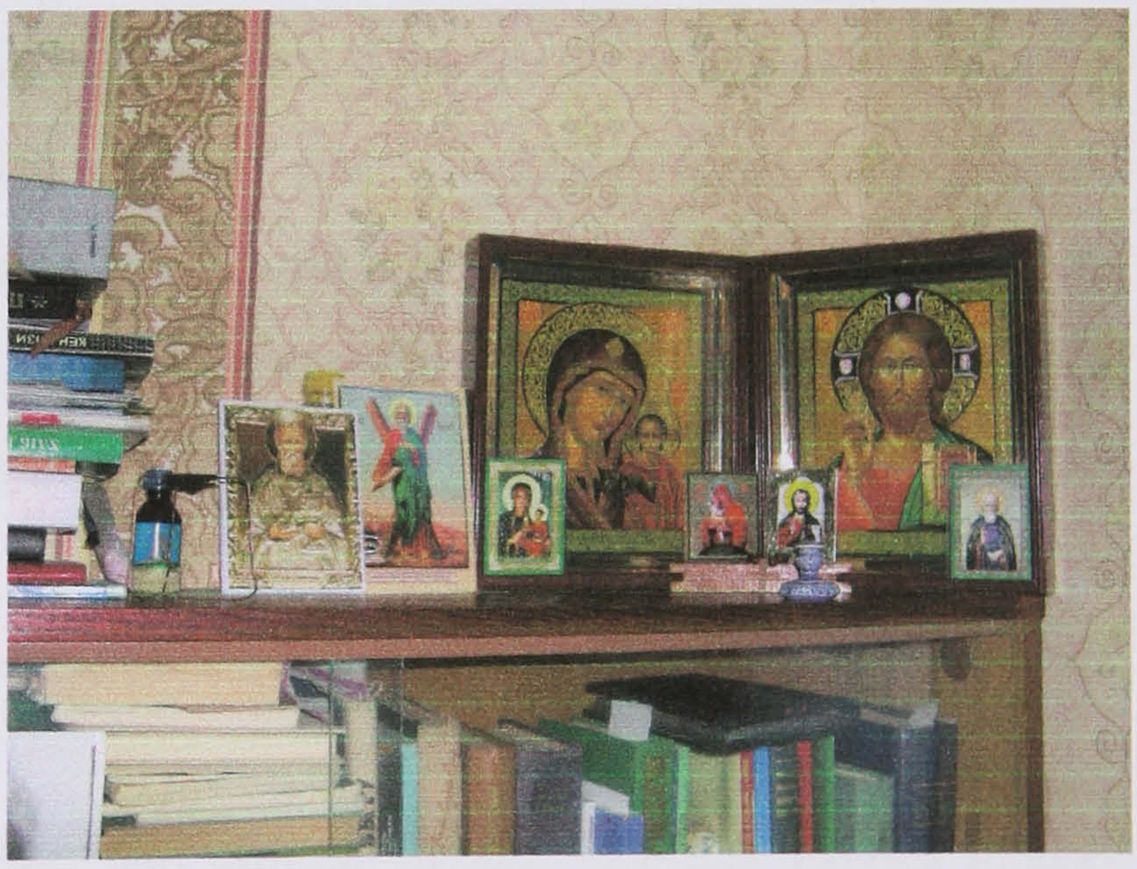
[482] From interview 17-M-KM-130202.

[483] From interview 19-F-KM-030202. She mentioned that previously she had put an icon on her wall in the student accommodation, but had taken it down after a fellow student had mocked her about it.

identity. For another student, the icon had mostly aesthetic value. He said that although he was an atheist, he would put an icon on his wall for the same reason that he listens to folk music - he likes 'Russian' traditions.[484] Only one student said he would put the icon on his wall for religious purposes. He explained that an icon is a window on the spiritual world and functions as an aid to prayer.[485]

The remaining students gave a wide range of reasons why they would not put an icon on the wall. Eight students saw a correlation between their religious identity and their decision about the icon. For example, one female student identified herself as a Protestant, and implied that this understanding of herself prevented her from placing an icon on her wall. Additionally, two students said they would not put the icon on the wall because they were atheists. One of them said, "Well, I like this icon. It is very like, it portrays some peace, it seems to me. But I am not Christian . . . so – if I were a Christian I would put this stuff on my wall."[486] Three other students said that icons were only for very religious people. Interestingly, one student said that he did not believe in icons: "Well, generally speaking I am a believer. But I am not religious. And especially I do not believe in icons. For me they represent just a piece of art."[487]

The photo elicitation using the content of students' walls also tested to discover their attitudes toward Orthodox icons and how these images were used in their living space. Five of the twenty students interviewed had icons on their walls. In a largely Orthodox country, and given the proliferation of paper icons, it was remarkable that so few students had icons on their walls. The comments of three of those with icons on their walls revealed that the icons were placed on their walls because they were a gift from someone – in two cases a gift from their mothers, in the other case a gift from a priest. Another student had placed the



[484] From interview 20-M-KM-050202.
[485] From interview 22-M-AS-250502.
[486] From interview 20-F-KM-050302.
[487] From interview 17-M-SU-110402.

icon on his wall above his computer, because below the image of the saint was a useful calendar. Only one student told me that he had actually placed the icons in a specific order and in a particular corner for the purpose of prayer *(pictured above)*. This is the same student mentioned above who spoke of icons as a window on the spiritual world.

In terms of the functions of icons as described at the beginning of this chapter, only this student used icons as a conduit for prayer. Additionally, two of the students were aware of the 'spreading sacred space' function of icons. For example, one of the students revealed that she carries three small icons in her handbag everywhere she goes for protection *(pictured, p. 49)*. The other student, whose mother had given him an icon when he left home for university, said that she gave it to him to keep him safe. For most of the others, the icon functioned to identify people as 'religious'. Overall, students did not use icons to express their personal pursuit of spirituality.

Pop stars

Icons were not students' favourite type of image for their walls. As reported above, the majority of images placed on students' walls portrayed pop stars and celebrities, both imported and national. Additionally, we saw that it was the ideals and lifestyle of those portrayed that attracted students to the pop stars that they had on their walls. It is argued here that the current fascination with pop images among Ukrainian young people is a reflection of their spiritual needs and aspirations. As mentioned in Chapter 1, Berger believes that different social phenomena operate like a religion when they provide meaning and heroes to revere. As students talked about their favourite pop artists and types of music that they like, it became evident that their belief systems, their dress style, and even political convictions were all tied to their youth subculture identification. The images of pop stars performed three spiritual functions: identity building, meaning making and offering a vision of a better life.

Just as icons signal an Orthodox identity, and similar to the way that Soviet images sought to promote a Communist self-understanding, so the images of pop 'icons' of the various youth subcultures provided a sense of identity for young people. For example, one of the students explained that people 'find themselves' within Hip Hop subculture. He emphasised that Hip Hop is not just music, but it is a lifestyle and worldview.[488] He wrote

---

[488] Informal interview on 9 November 2001, Kiev.

in an email, "I love Hip Hop and I want a lot of people'z to begin to live 4 progressive culture" (sic).[489] Other subcultures that the respondents identified with or talked about included rock music fans, firmly differentiated from pop music followers, punks, hippies, skinhead anarchists, Buddhists, Tolkienists, computer clubbers, 'sectarian Christians' and loyal Orthodox groups. For the students who clearly identified themselves with a particular subculture, the posters on their walls represented this affiliation.

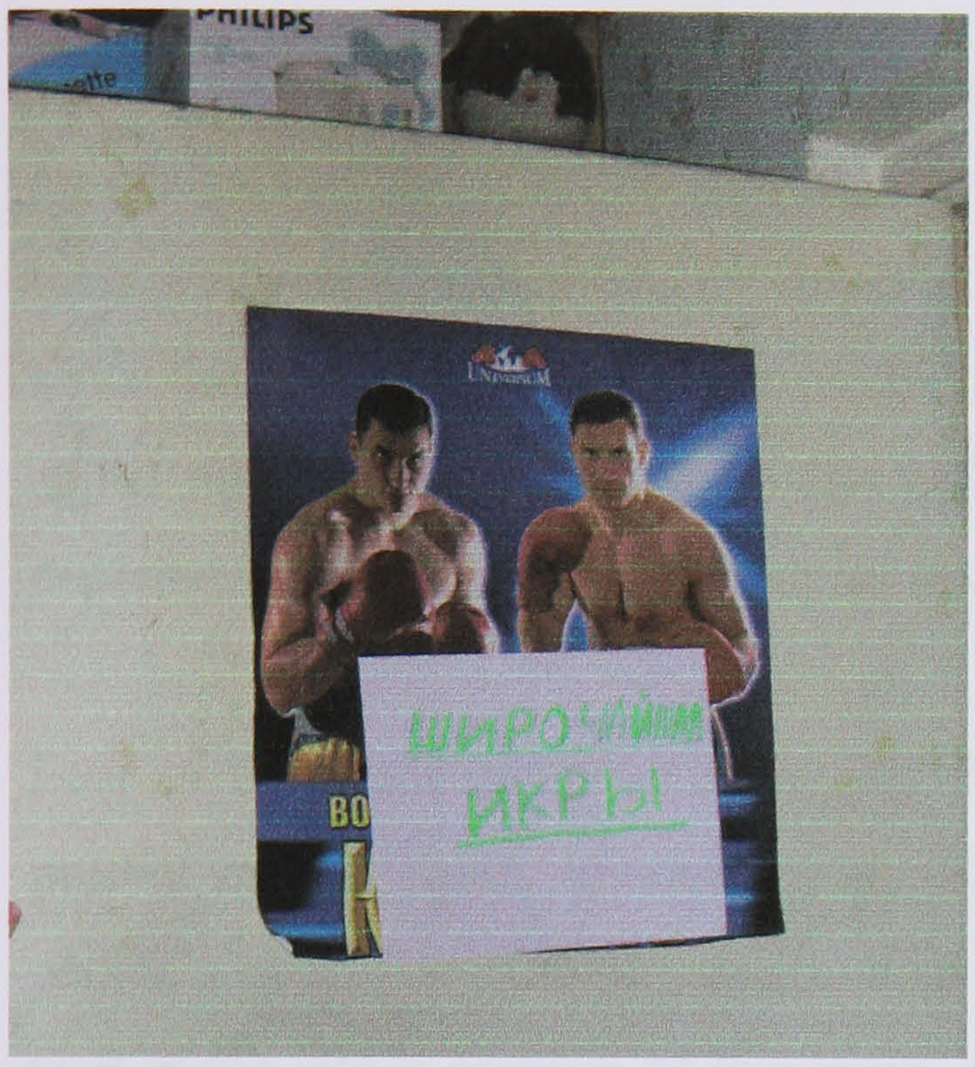
Additionally, similar to the way that icons and Soviet images were used to educate people against heresy or 'dangerous' beliefs, pop stars have provided students with philosophical arguments against the status quo. Youth culture started in the USSR in the 1960s with rock music. This rebellious (and illegal) music grew in popularity through unofficial channels, and at that time, John Lennon was practically a saint, especially after he died. Later, young people began to form their own bands, writing songs with lyrics full of cynicism and feelings of alienation. According to sociologists Wallace and Kovacheva, whose research compared Eastern and Western European youth culture, as students became disillusioned with Soviet values, youth culture and music filled a cultural gap and gave young people an outlet for creativity and self-expression.[490] Although the government decried rock groups as 'Western imports', local bands continued to spring up with their own followings and disseminating their music via cheap cassette recordings, sold illegally. Wallace and Kovacheva write "music … offered a direct, hedonistic, and sensual form of expression beyond and incorruptible by linguistic communication. It was diametrically opposed in form to the technological orientation of the official Komsomol organisation, with its progress – dominated movement for scientific and technical development. Thus, the pleasure-seeking aspect to music offered an escape from the rationalistic – technological official values, and in so doing it subverted them."[491] One of the students who identifies with the 'Russian rock' subculture said that rock music was responsible for the fall of the Soviet Union.[492] One entire wall of her bedroom is filled with posters and pictures of rock stars.[493] Every member of her family is loyal to rock music, revering Jim Morrison, Jimmy Hendrix, the Beatles, Mick Jagger, and a host of Russian rock musicians. In an informal meal with her family, her father explained that he

---

[489] Personal email received 10.11.01.
[490] Claire Wallace and Svetlana Kovacheva 1996 'Youth Cultures and Consumption in Eastern and Western Europe. An Overview', *Youth & Society* 28(2): 189-214. p. 198.
[491] Ibid. p. 200.
[492] From interview 22-F-AS-020502.
[493] See Appendix 3 for photographs of her wall.

became a Jim Morrison fan through his daughter, and pointed to a picture of Jim Morrison that was on the wall in the sitting room next to the telephone. Youth culture in Ukraine is linked to a social construction of meaning, and has been for more than forty years.

Furthermore, similar to adverts, posters of pop stars can function as a reminder of the possibility of a better life. For example, four of the students had a poster of the Clichko brothers on their wall. The students explained



that these two large, handsome men were responsible for 'making Ukraine famous'. The brothers are international boxers who are now wealthy and living in Germany *(pictured on the door of the room of one interviewee)*. In fact, through the students' comments, it was evident that the images not only evoke nationalist sentiments, but also visually portray the dream that Ukrainians can become wealthy and successful. This aspect of the appeal of these images was made explicit when a student said that she would put a poster of the pop star Dido on her wall, not because she is a fan or likes her music, but because she would someday like to be as successful as Dido.[494] These images are appealing because they portray the possibility of success and the hope for financial security, a type of earthly transcendence.

Some would perceive Orthodox icons and pop images as the antithesis of each other. However, it has been shown in this section that the centuries old function of icons in Slavic culture can aid in understanding the current use of images among young people in this region. The spiritual function of icons in Ukrainian society was warped by the Soviets through their use of images and now in contemporary Ukraine advertising and posters are a further distortion of the way images can be used to express spirituality.[495]

---

[494] From interview 19-F-NL-100602.

[495] Appendix 5 is a chart summarising the similarities and differences in the various functions of the four types of images discussed: icons, Soviet propaganda, adverts and posters of pop stars.

Spiritual Images

The previous section was devoted to an analysis of the contemporary spiritual function of images in contrast to the historical spiritual use of images in Ukraine. In this section, we look at what was discovered about the spiritual function of the images that students used in their living space. The way these images were used revealed the 'raw' spirituality of the students who were interviewed.

Overt Spiritual Functions of Images

Similar to Eck's discovery that seeing is an active gaze in the context of Hindu worship, an analysis of the research data shows that the student's interaction with what was on their wall was at times overtly spiritual in nature. This interaction was 'spiritual' in the sense that they felt the presence of the person portrayed in the picture, or they explicitly stated that putting an image on the wall was like worshiping or venerating the person depicted. Below are several examples from transcripts of the interviews.

Four of the students spoke of having the feeling that a person pictured was somehow present in their room. In some cases, this was linked with an awareness of the depicted person's eyes. For example, one student said, while looking at the icon of the Mother of God in the image archive, "I like icons, but I think that they have to stay in the church or in some special places. But in my room – I like icons – but I also think that I can't do something bad, because she looks at me. I would feel uncomfortable in my room."[496] For another student this feeling extended to a poster of a female soap star (Natalia Oreuro) popular in Ukraine, "well, if she, if this picture would hang on my wall, I would feel that someone always looks behind me, and I don't like this."[497] Another student cut out pictures of eyes from a magazine and put them on his wall. He explained, "these eyes. They were also in a journal. . . So, there are plenty of eyes in my room. I like some eyes on the wall, something watching me."[498] It is interesting that for him the feeling of being watched by those portrayed is not necessarily a negative feeling. Another student talked about how he interacts with a picture of Victor Tsoi, a Russian rock legend. He said "with this poster I like to look straight into his eyes, and each time I see something different there, depending on my mood."[499]

---

[496] From interview 18-F-SU-080502.
[497] From interview 20-F-KM-050302.
[498] From interview 20-M-KM-050202.
[499] From interview 17-M-SU-110402.

Four other students expressed sensitivity to the spiritual meaning behind putting something on the wall. One student remarked that the only people she would put on her wall would be 'saint people', meaning people who would inspire her to be a good person. She was not referring to traditional saints, but to people that she personally aspires to emulate.[500] Another example is a student who has developed his own spirituality that he intentionally expressed through the images that he chose for his wall. He explained that he is a 'free Zen Buddhist', and pointed to a corner of his room where he had placed a horseshoe and image of Buddha to symbolise his belief in happiness and luck.[501] One of the students had designed a symbol that represented the spiritual side of her, based on astrology and Chinese philosophy. She liked the symbol because it represented her faith and her destiny, but was not overtly religious. *(A photograph of a painting of her symbol is on page 165).*[502] Finally, another student revealed that he would not put something on the wall if he 'does not worship' it. He also said that he recognises in his life that he is always longing to find an 'idol' he could worship, whether a politician or an historical person, such as Che Guevera.[503]

Three other students alluded to the potential for idolatry when placing images on the wall. For example, one student said "I don't like when people have pictures of stars on their walls, because it makes me think that these people are somewhat insecure and they could fall into this obsession stuff."[504] One student, who liked football, was asked why he chose not to put a picture of Andriy Shevchenko, a famous Ukrainian football player, on his wall. He said, "No, Shevchenko is a good footballer. But I dislike making an idol. He is a good footballer, but not more."[505] Another interviewee, when asked whether she would put up a picture of the well-known Ukrainian boxers, the Clicko brothers, said, "I won't [put them up on the wall]. Just what should I do with them? Pray to them, or what?"[506] Thus, this hesitance to place a person on the wall because it might lead to idolatry indicates that wall space is considered sacred space.

---

[500] From interview 18-F-SU-080502.
[501] From interview 23-M-KM-170402.
[502] From interview 18-F-SI-010402.
[503] From interview 19-M-SI-280302.
[504] From interview 20-F-KM-050302.
[505] From interview 17-M-SU-020502. But later he said that he would put up on his wall a picture of a Japanese fighter, Hirokazu Kanazava, whom he referred to as 'a great fighter and a great Buddhist.'
[506] From interview 19-F-NL-290402.

The assertion made here that walls in personal space are for sacred images, explains why most students would not put a photograph of their friends or family on the wall, as we saw earlier in the chapter. Clearly, for some Ukrainian students, the act of putting a depiction of a person on the wall would indicate some sort of act of worship or idolatry. Undoubtedly, the almost mystical sense of the depicted person's presence in the room also means that students hesitate to put certain types of pictures of people on the wall. The centuries old mystical role of icons in this region still informs and guides the use of the visual.

Images that reveal a spiritual quest

In addition to these cases of overtly spiritual uses of images, the research uncovered a variety of spiritual desires among both religious and non-religious young people. In this section, the data is analysed through the lens of the operational definition of spirituality, and follows German theologian Hans Kung's notion of the search for God manifesting itself in a quest for identity, security, community affiliation, meaning, and experiences of transcendence.[507]

Identity

The students' self understanding of their identity was investigated in interviews with the question "what do people learn about you when they see what you have on your walls?" Their answer was often followed with a question about whether they felt this would be an accurate perception of them. The responses received were telling, because this line of questioning gave the students an opportunity to compare and contrast their chosen and promoted exterior identity with what they perceived to be their real identity. For example, one student said that the many posters of rock stars on her wall would lead people to believe she was a rock fan, but actually, she said that in her heart she values friendships with people, particularly those from her home whom she does not see often while at university.[508] On the other hand, one student explained that his eclectic mix of images on his wall would accurately reveal to people the "problems in my head."[509]

Nineteen of the twenty students interviewed revealed that they explored their identity through their visual expressions on their walls. For example, one student said that the

---

[507] Kung 'Rediscovering God'. p. 86.
[508] From interview 19-F-NL-290402.
[509] From interview 21-M-KM-090402.

photograph of the Eiffel Tower symbolised his desire to someday change and become someone different. He explained that the photograph has an "association with something existential, that is, to go somewhere, and stay there for a week, and come back being a bit different."[510] One student openly described how her walls were an outlet for personal self-expression. She said that she liked to put up images that were special for her and that had significance known only to her. She explained that she used these images as a means of affirming her identity and assuring herself that she was someone special. This student had designed her own symbol based on star signs and Chinese philosophy. She described how this image of fire and water revealed a desire to understand herself and how she fits into the universe.[511] Even the absence of images had meaning. Pointing to an empty wall in his room, one student said "everything is blank, a blank space. I'm still trying to find myself."[512] Another student said that his walls were his 'self-expression' of his identity as a Ukrainian. As mentioned above, a large Ukrainian flag placed on his wall over his bed dominated his living space (*pictured p. 125)*.[513]

Only three students expressed their identity in terms of the region of Ukraine that they came from, and, interestingly, all of them were from Crimea. The reasons for this could be historical. Originally, Crimea was part of Russia, but in 1954 Khrushchev 'gave' Crimea to Soviet Ukraine as a symbolic gesture of friendship with Soviet Russia. However, to the chagrin of many people in both Crimea and Russia, Ukraine kept Crimea after independence. Hence, it is not surprising that students from Crimea would have a desire to express their regional identity while living in the capitol of Ukraine. All three of these students had images on their wall of famous places in Crimea.

The images of three of the students revealed an urge to resist the status quo and to define themselves against other people's expectations. For example, the student mentioned above, whose walls were filled with pop stars such as Jimmy Hendrix and Jim Morrison from the 1960s and 70s, said that she admired these stars because they brought about a revolution in consciousness. She explained that twenty years ago young people living in the Soviet Union were attracted to these rebellious, counter-cultural artists, and made idols of their leaders. This student said that she sees her support of classic rock artists as a

---

[510] From interview 22-M-AS-250502.
[511] From interview 18-F-SI-010402.
[512] From interview 19-M-SI-280302.
[513] From interview 17-M-KM-130202.

form of rebellion against consumerism and commercialised pop music.[514] Now that the Soviet Union has collapsed and listening to these rock stars is no longer illegal, young people are left with only the status quo to rebel against. Another example is the student who said that he was attracted to a youth subculture that promoted the end of social boundaries by making the rich and poor equal. He explained that these ideas are loosely based on the philosophy of Che Guevara, and that the students who identify with this subculture often display the image of Guevara on their clothing and on their walls. *(Pictured: skaters in the central square of Kiev, one wearing the image of Guevara on his shirt.)* According to him, the image of Guevara is regarded as a way of expressing anger against commercialism and the growing materialism seen in Ukraine.[515]

Students did not confine their visual expressions of identity to images on their walls. Two students described how they explored their identity in terms of their clothing. For example, one student expressed his individuality through decorating a pair of jeans *(pictured).* He pointed out how on one leg he wrote the names of his favourite bands, and the other he reserved for his friends to write on.[516] Another student said that he feels that he lives a double life because during the week, he wears a shirt and tie to his job with a company, and only on the weekends is he able to dress in large trousers and baggy shirts to go to the club. He said that he longs to be able to wear his real clothes that express who he really is, instead of having to wear a 'costume' during the week.[517] His comments speak of the importance of dress in self-expression and identity, as well as a desire for wholeness.

---

[514] From interview 22-F-AS-020502.
[515] He called it a 'movement of restless youth', from interview 19-M-SI-280302.
[516] From interview 17-M-SU-110402.
[517] From interview 19-M-SI-280302.

One student, when speaking about how her old postcards remind her of the past, said, "when I begin now to think over my actions and behaviour I am so ashamed. I won't behave in this way anymore. I think it's better for me to think this over, but I don't like to discuss my problems with friends. And it's also difficult to discuss it with parents, because they are too old." She said that she longs for a friendship with someone a little older and wiser than her whom she could talk with. "I could tell them about my past life, and they would help me to understand and to realise what was wrong and what was good in my actions, my behaviour, in my deeds."[518] She explained that the postcards remind her of past problems and cause her to realise that she does not like the person that she is. She said that she desires to come to terms with her past and become a better person as a result of understanding and overcoming these past difficulties. Her postcards are a way of expressing her self-understanding as a journey of self-improvement.

Security

Ten students used their wall space to express the desire to have some type of security. In one case, this longing for security was expressed as a desire for confidence. The student explained that she liked the print of a painting on her wall because she wants to be self-assured like the woman portrayed. She said, "I think this rider is my ideal image. Sometimes I want to be like her. Calm, confident and beautiful." She also said that she chooses to put things on the wall that 'inspire and empower' her. For example, she said she would put up a picture of the Eiffel Tower, because to her it says, "let your thoughts be so striving."[519]

Students used images to give them a sense of stability and strength. One student said that he would like to put the photograph of the Mother of Our Motherland monument on his wall, because it gives him the feeling of 'being strong, the feeling of strength'.[520] Another student said that the icons on his walls often give him an inner stability, despite frequent changes in his outward situation.[521] Furthermore, not only were these students struggling with psychological insecurity and the uncertainty of the future, but also one student talked about how he feels physically vulnerable and hopes to one-day feel secure. He had a ying and yang symbol on is wall, which he explained symbolised the power of the Emperor of

---

[518] From interview 19-F-NL-100602.
[519] From interview 23-F-KM-020402.
[520] From interview 17-M-SU-110402.
[521] From interview 19-M-AS-250502.

China. He said that he studies karate and other marshal arts because he has learned that in order to survive in Ukraine, a person needs to be strong.[522]

Two others expressed their longing to find security through happiness. A student who had developed his own Buddhist-style happiness religion had a credo on the wall that began with the words, "I resolve to always be happy every day" and was followed by twenty-five points on how to achieve this goal.[523] Another student wanted to put the photograph of the Eiffel Tower on her wall because she said she always had a dream to go there on her honeymoon with her future husband. As she talked about 'her dream' it became clear that this photograph encapsulated her desire to marry, to have money and be able to travel. She finished by saying that the photograph symbolises that she will be happy with her husband, "it will be just a happy world, a happy town."[524]

With jobs for graduates scarce and an unstable economic situation in Ukraine, it was not unusual for students to express a fear of the uncertainty of the future. For four students, putting an image on the wall symbolised an aspiration for them and represented the security that would come with a successful career. For example, one student used photographs of airplanes to symbolise what she called her 'ideals'. She aspired to one day be a pilot, and so she put photographs in her living space of the type of airplanes that she hoped to fly.[525] This insecurity of the future also manifested itself in students' desires to achieve in their studies and thus be able to earn a large income. One student explained that he put a print of the *Mona Lisa* on his wall because the painter achieved something great through this piece of art. He said that this image represents his own drive to succeed.[526] Furthermore, the students' use of pop stars (discussed above) as icons of success is also an expression of a desire for financial security.

Community Affiliation

The images on students' wall reflected their desire for meaningful relationships and a sense of connection with others. Eight students openly talked about this aspect of their lives in the interviews. For example, one student said that she feels that most people do not know anything about her. She said that she longs for people with whom she can have

---

[522] From interview 17-M-SU-020502.
[523] From interview 23-M-KM-17002.
[524] From interview 19-F-NL-290402.
[525] From interview 18-F-SU-080502.
[526] From interview 17-M-KM-130202.

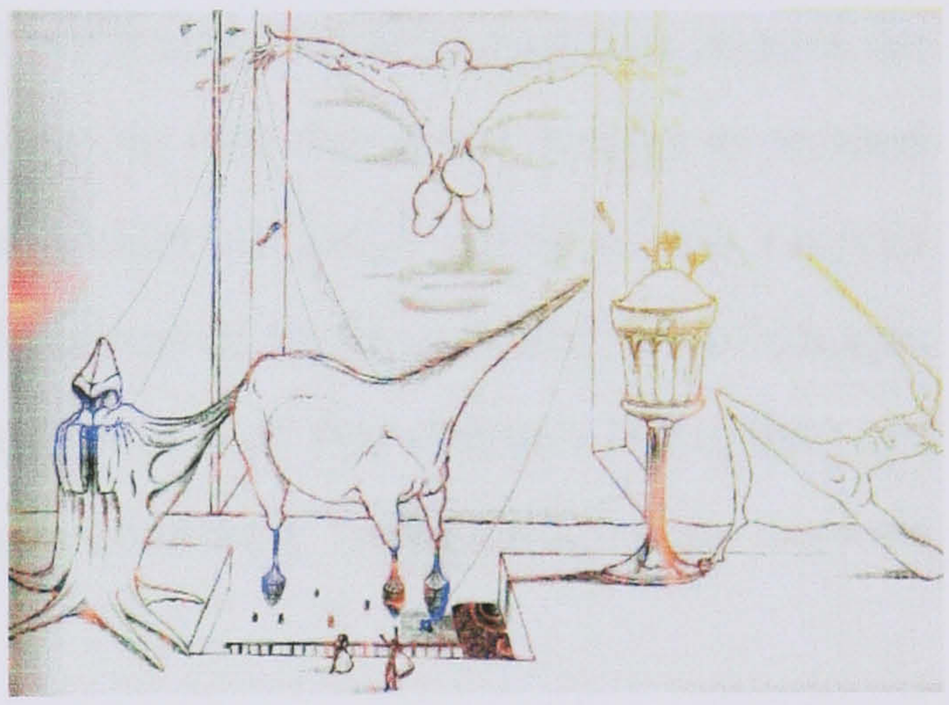
fun, talk about her problems, be close to, and find help in times of need. Holding a small framed photograph of her boyfriend, she spoke about her love for him and how she longs to be married because it would mean having a relationship that was meaningful and more intimate than a friendship.[527] Furthermore, one student, mentioned above, said that her postcards remind her that she longs for someone that can listen to her and give her guidance so that she can be a better person. Then, she said she would be better equipped to build good friendships.[528] Another student who carefully maintained an outer image of the 'tough guy' (his words) mentioned that he kept a painting by his former girlfriend on his wall because the relationship had been important to him *(pictured on his wall)*. He said the image reminded him of the love that he lost.[529]

We see here that the images were often a testament of the importance of relationship with a particular person, not because the image depicted the person, but because the image itself was a gift from that person. As described above, ten students put images on their walls because they were gifts from someone.[530] One student explained, "for me, the most important thing is that the person who gave me these things exists, but not the thing itself. I mean I'm glad to have this thing, but people are more important for me, relationships more than things."[531] One student had eighteen cards and little posters on her wall that were gifts from friends *(pictured below)*. She explained that these images symbolise the importance of these friendships in her life. She said they remind her of the people in her life who mean a lot to her. She said, "Some of these [cards] are just great, knowing that people love you and are praying for you."[532]

---

[527] From interview 19-F-NL-290402.
[528] From interview 19-F-NL-100602.
[529] From interview 21-M-KM-090402.
[530] The content analysis showed that 50 pictures or posters on students' walls were gifts, 23% of the 219 images studied. See page 117.
[531] From interview 20-F-KM-130202.
[532] From interview 23-F-NL-180602.

Not only did these students express a need for relationships and the importance of community affiliation, but relationships formed part of their identity and helped them find meaning in life. One student said that the drawings made for her by various friends were important to her because of the friendships they represent. As she talked about the images, it became clear that she identified herself in relation to these friendships. Thus, the images on her wall were a way of representing her identity in terms of her friendships.[533] For another student, the images on his wall were placed there to illicit a response from people who visit his room. As he spoke about the images, it became evident that every image had a clever meaning or demonstrated his skill in drawing or photography. His use of images demonstrated a need for affirmation and for people to admire his work and recognise his genius. *(Pictured is one of his drawings entitled 'Symphony of Infinity')*[534] Additionally, one student said that relationships are a way of "making sense of a person's place in the world."[535]



Ultimate Meaning

A quest for ultimate meaning is the innate propensity of humans to make sense of their existence. An analysis of the data showed that eleven students explored ultimate meaning through their use of images, and four examples are included here. One student expressed her pursuit of meaning through a painting that she made and placed on her wall *(pictured)*. She explained that it represented three

[533] From interview 19-F-KM-050202.
[534] From interview 20-M-KM-050202.
[535] From interview 18-F-SI-010402.

parts of life. She said that at the beginning of life there are just pieces. but then they develop into many lines and finally "these lines make the whole form that we have in all of life."[536] For her, the image demonstrated that everything in life and relationships begins with a 'small, small drop'. Another student explained that she liked a photograph of a boy wearing a suit and sitting in a graveyard because for her it was about the tension between good an evil. She said it made her think about human suffering.[537] This indicated that she had a desire to engage with the reality of the human situation.

Furthermore, one student said that she would like to put a photograph of Osama bin Ladin on her wall, explaining, "I love him and would do everything that he told me to do."[538] She expressed a longing to have someone to worship, someone to tell her what her life means and how to live. She said that she liked the Koran because it had practical teaching on life and morals. She said, "You can study from it how to live. And from the Bible you can only read history."[539] She was not the only student to explore meaning outside her religious tradition. The student who identified himself as a Buddhist had two images on his walls of the Bodhisattva, the Buddha of wisdom. He said that these images expressed his need for wisdom.[540] It was evident that he sought to make sense of his present situation through the Buddhist tradition. The implications of these students' use of images for religious thinking will be discussed in the final section of this chapter. Here, they are included as examples of how young people are creatively using images to explore ultimate meaning.

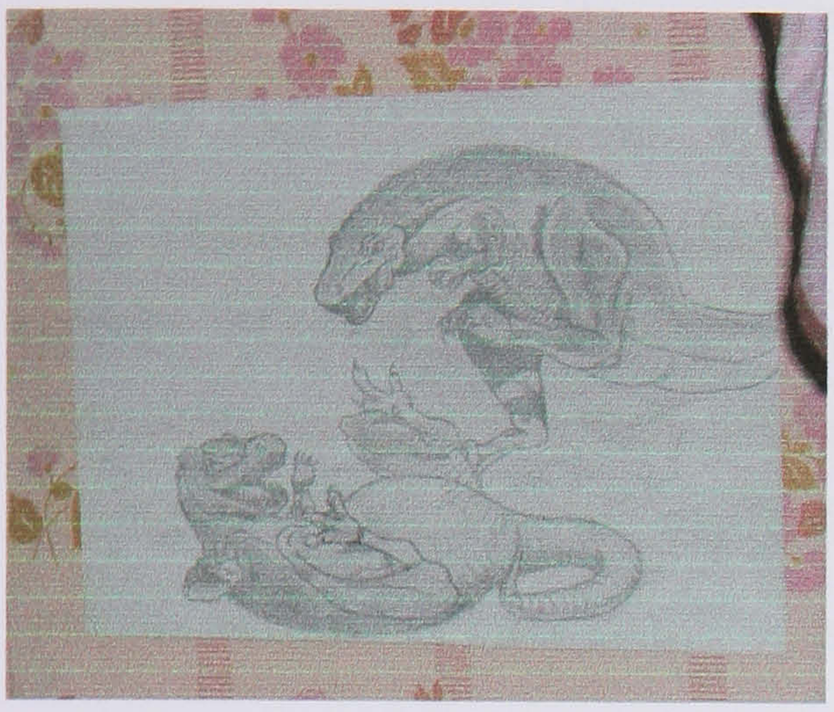
Transcendence

To long for transcendence is to desire to discover a reality outside oneself. This can take the form of a pursuit of a lifestyle better than one's current situation, referred to above as 'earthly transcendence'. However, in a more spiritual sense it also refers to the pursuit of a meaningful existence that is not confined to the physical realm. Four different aspects of transcendence were evident in the interview data and are described below.

---

[536] From interview 18-F-SI-010402.
[537] From interview 19-F-KM-030202.
[538] From interview 18-F-SU-080502.
[539] From interview 18-F-SU-080502.
[540] From interview 23-M-KM-170402.

Several students spoke about the desire to have experiences that transcend their normal physical existence. One student described how she likes 'weird experiences' such as "when you jump into deep water from a high point." She also said, "If I had a chance to learn to jump with a parachute, I would." This student was fascinated by the possibility of 'weird experiences.' She said that she liked one of the pictures in the image archive because it reminded her of descriptions of drug users' experiences when high.[541] Her comments indicated a preoccupation with unusual experiences. Another student described



herself as "a romantic person, nature-lover, and believer in something connected with mysticism."[542] She said that she is drawn to the occult and gave as an example her own drawings that featured dinosaurs ripping each other apart *(pictured)* or skulls full of intricately drawn writhing worms. She said that she does not know what she will draw when she begins; she 'finds' it after she has made a few lines. She said that she feels as if she enters some sort of abnormal psychological state while she is drawing, controlled by a force outside herself. Furthermore, another student said he is able to find a way to 'go outside' himself through listening to music. He explained that when he lays on his bed and listens to his favourite artist's music, he could be anywhere in the world.[543] This is the student previously mentioned who found comfort through looking into the eyes of his favourite musician, depicted on a poster in his room.

Students consistently chose photographs of nature in the image archive as pictures that they would like to put on their walls. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the photograph of the rose and the image of the Austrian mountains images proved to be the most popular images in the entire archive, with nearly half the students saying they would definitely put them on their walls. The photograph of deer was the second most popular with seven votes, and the image of the earth from space had four. Through the interviews and participant observation, it became evident that many Ukrainians love the outdoors and that for them nature was regarded as having a mysterious, healing energy. Half of the students interviewed mentioned without prompting that they love nature. Spending time

---

[541] From interview 20-F-KM-050302.
[542] From interview 20-F-KM-130202.
[543] From interview 17-M-SU-110402.

outdoors was a way of tapping into this energy outside themselves. For example, on a walk in a forest, a Ukrainian woman paused to lean with her back against a tree. When asked what she was doing, she explained that the tree takes away her negative energy. *(Pictured is a woman in a park leaning against a tree, a common sight in Kiev).* This belief in 'natural' cures and the magical healing energy of the outdoors was common among Ukrainians, and could account for the students' propensity to choose images of nature for their walls.[544] This interest in images of nature could have many explanations, the simplest being the aesthetic appeal of the photographs or possibly an environmental consciousness. However, based on the discovery that nature has spiritual associations for Ukrainians, photographs of the outdoors might be popular among students because of their mystical associations.

For three students, this desire to discover more about reality through reaching outside themselves was expressed through a longing to experience freedom. For example, one student dreamed of freedom in terms of space and movement, explaining that she liked a painting on her wall of a ship at sea because it depicted a place where one could have a lot of space and freedom.[545] For two other students, freedom meant the liberation of the soul. For example, a student said that his favourite symbol was the anarchy symbol, and he pointed to where he had drawn it on his jeans. However, he explained that symbol for him was not about societal anarchy; instead it represented freedom from any power over his soul.[546] Another student said that for him the image of Che Guevara symbolises his yearning for freedom in his soul. As mentioned above, he explained that there seems to be an urge within him to worship someone outside himself, which began when he was a teenager. He admitted that his interest in Che Guevara might stem from this "longing to find the idol which I could worship."[547]

For some students, the interest in the transcendent was an interest in God or a power. One student spoke of the icon as a 'window to a different world', clearly believing in

---

[544] In the content analysis of the images on students' walls, there were twenty-seven images of the outdoors, geological phenomenon or animals, about 12% of the total.
[545] From interview 20-F-KM-050302.
[546] From interview 17-M-SU-110402.
[547] From interview 19-M-SI-280302.

transcendence and wanting to access this world through prayer.[548] Another student told me that she did not look for God in church, but within herself. She also said, "my belief in God is not so strong. I just believe." She went on to explain that she does not understand traditional religious ideas about God, but still wants to believe in a God in a way that makes sense to her.[549] But for another student, transcendence was a type of force. She explained that although her search for spiritual answers was a personal quest, it was not entirely based on her own perceptions. "Of course there is some power in the world, in you, and in the general world."[550] She went on to explain how 'faith' is mysterious because it organises reality is such a precise way. She said that every day is a 'small shock' for her, because she sees how little events and thoughts are connected and work together to bring about all the details of life.

The findings of this section can be summarised in the comments of one student, who, when explaining her criteria for placing pictures on her wall, said that putting something on the wall invests it symbolically with a sense of being unattainable.[551] The Orthodox belief that the icon is a window on heaven, an opening into the transcendent, otherworldly existence attainable after one's death, is reflected on a more mundane level of desire and aspirations through the students' interaction with the images on their walls. We have seen that this raw spirituality is highly personal and multifaceted.

The discussion now turns to look in detail at the forms that this spiritual search took among students. We begin with a description of the 'Spirituality Scale' developed to aid the analysis of the various intensities of the students' quests for spirituality. This is followed by an account of the various shapes that this spiritual search took, including traditional and non-traditional religious forms.

Spirituality - A Scale

An analysis of the data revealed that students' awareness of the spiritual aspect of their lives varied from person to person and that they exhibited a range of intensities in their spiritual search for meaning. After reading and reviewing the interviews and the notes from informal meetings with the students, four categories emerged. This 'spirituality

---

[548] From interview 19-M-AS-250502.
[549] From interview 18-F-SI-010402.
[550] From interview 18-F-SI-010402.
[551] From interview 20-F-KM-130202.

scale' ranged from 'sceptic', 'spectator', 'seeker' to 'finder'.[552] This tool is used as a lens through which to view the research data, adding definition to the complexity of the spiritual situation. Below is a description of each category on the scale and a short case study of a student who typically fits this description.

Three of the students who took part in the research demonstrated little or no interest in the spiritual realm or transcendence, and were placed in the sceptic category. One of these students, a fourth year biology student, 'Olga',[553] said that for her, religious belief is merely an 'ideology'. She explained that she does not subscribe to Christian ideology in the same way that she does not believe Buddhist teachings. On her walls were pictures of Crimea, her 'home' region in southern Ukraine. She spoke of happy memories of living 'like a hippie' in the outdoors, close to nature and in close communion with her friends.[554] For her, as a typical student of the sciences, any type of religious belief or spiritual explanation for the world was seen as outdated and 'unscientific'. Olga also had a strong sense of secular nationalism. For example, she talked at length about what a privilege it was to be able to see the 'Mother of the Motherland' Soviet monument from her flat. She did not mention that she could also see the tower of the Kiev Pechersk Monastery, dating from the 13th century and for many symbolising that Kiev is the mother of Orthodoxy not only for Ukraine but also for Russia and Belarus. She demonstrated the typical scientific worldview that the Soviets worked so hard to establish in the people.

Another student, 'Vincent', was typical of the spectator category, because he demonstrated a belief in the possibility of the spiritual or transcendent, but had no interest in learning more or searching for ultimate meaning. Four of the twenty students interviewed fell into this group. Vincent was a first year Maths student at Shevchenko National University in Kiev. Although he identified himself as Jewish, his family did not practice Judaism and had chosen to stay in Ukraine even though in the last ten years most of their Jewish friends had moved to Israel. In the interview Vincent said that Christian motifs in art depress him and he spoke with disdain about institutionalised religion. He had a sense that religious belief should be private, and that "religion should be in the heart

---

[552] Cf. C. Daniel Batson, Patricia Schoenrade, and W. Larry Ventis 1993 *Religion and The Individual.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. p. 169.This scale differs from the 'Quest Scale' developed by Batson et al because whereas the 'Quest Scale' attempted to measure the degree to which a religious person's religious beliefs were open to dialogue with existential questions, the 'spirituality scale' described here measures non-religious and religious young people's openness to a search for meaning outside themselves.
[553] Not her real name – all the students referred to in this section were given pseudonyms.
[554] From interview 20-F-KM-050302.

but not on the wall."[555] He also resisted putting sports stars that he admired on his wall, because he said he "dislikes making an idol." Yet interestingly, he would put Jim Morrison on his wall, because he is the "greatest poet of the 20th century." Vincent was classified as a spectator, because although he is aware of spirituality, he does not seek to engage with it. He is particularly drawn to Buddhist ideas and famous people who have become Buddhist, but he has yet to seek to become Buddhist or adopt Buddhist practices. And, tellingly, Vincent said that he dislikes things that he cannot understand. For him, Buddhism is exotic and goes against the status quo, but he takes his interest no further than this.

The majority of the students were classified as seekers, because they showed an openness to spirituality and actively sought to find ultimate meaning for their lives. Nine of the students were placed in this category because they openly talked about their search for the answers to life's ultimate questions. 'Timothy', a nineteen-year-old sociology student and typical of those classified as seekers, said that he is a 'believer', but he does not need church, because his belief is inside himself.[556] He has made sense of the world through his affiliation with the Hip Hop subculture. He writes articles for *Extreme*, a journal for extreme sports enthusiasts, and is the webmaster of a website about Hip Hop in Ukraine. He emphasized that Hip Hop is more than music - it is a culture. He said that he has seen people "find themselves" within the Hip Hop sub-culture, because it gives them an identity. He said that although sometimes there are clashes with youth from other subcultures, part of the draw to being part of the subculture is the need to feel different and special. He openly admitted that his gold-hoop earring in each ear and dyed blond hair was styled on his hero, Hip Hop pop star Eminem. Referred to above, Timothy said that for many years he has longed to find an idol that he could worship. Significantly, Timothy said that he sometimes has 'bad energy' inside himself, and seeks to release these feeling through listening to certain types of music, such as the angry songs of Marilyn Manson. As mentioned previously in the context of identity, when Timothy talked about how he decorates his walls in his living space, he pointed to a blank wall and said, 'I am still trying to find myself.' His spiritual quest is typical of many other seeking students, because his search for meaning is outside of the church or other religious institutions and is expressed in the context of a youth subculture.

---

[555] From interview 17-M-SU-020502.
[556] From interview 19-M-SI-230202.

The final group of students were classified as 'finders', because they had found a way to channel their innate spirituality and continued to discover meaning for their existence within this context. Three of these students were Orthodox and one was Protestant. 'Sasha', a twenty-two year-old MA student at the Institute of Sociology at the National Academy of Science, talked about his spiritual journey. Several years ago he met Protestant believers who told him about Christianity. Later he met Jehovah's Witnesses, who then drew him into their group. Just before he was to be baptised by them, he had doubts and sought advice from a priest. The priest told him that if he wanted to be baptised, it should be within the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate, because it is the one true church. Sasha said that after he was baptised (Orthodox) his "first fire was cold for awhile, and then I experienced another increased spiritual fire."[557] In the interview he disassociated himself with the New Age movement and Buddhism and clearly identified himself as Orthodox. He said that he is active in a local parish and has a priest who serves as his 'spiritual father.' He emphasised that he has found the true faith within Orthodoxy, and he now strongly believes that the UOC-MP is the only true church. He was the student mentioned previously who said that not only do the icons in his room help him in his prayers, but they also give him a sense of stability.

When analysing the data with this scale in mind, it became evident that those students identified as seekers and finders tended to read spiritual meaning into the pictures in the image archive, more than the students described as spectators and sceptics. For example, a male seeker student liked the collage of the Picasso drawing with the butterfly, because he said it portrayed the mystical side of life alongside physical reality. He also said that he liked the photograph of the rose, because the spiral shape symbolised that everything in life is developing, showing him something about his soul.[558] Another seeker student, looking at the photograph of a rose, said, "I think this one will mean for me that everything in our world is in harmony, and even if something is thorny, it is beautiful, and everything has its purpose." She also said that the photograph of the Eiffel Tower made her think "let your thoughts be so inspiring" and the Austrian mountain photograph meant for her "life is beautiful, enjoy it and hope for better."[559] And for several seeker students the photograph of the bell at Khersonetsk on the Black Sea took on spiritual or magical

---

[557] From interview 22-M-AS-250502.
[558] From interview 20-M-KM-050202.
[559] From interview 23-F-KM-020402.

meaning. For one student, the bell was magic – you could ring it and make a wish.[560] Another student said that she did not want to place the icon near the picture of the bell, because it is a 'magic' symbol.[561] For another student, the bell had dark, occult associations, from memories of a film that had a scene of a similar bell, but with a half-decomposed corpse hanging from it.[562] Interestingly, the research findings showed that students classified as finders and seekers were less likely to put pop stars on the wall whereas spectators and sceptics put mostly pictures of people on the walls, particularly of pop stars.

Spiritual and religious attitudes

The next section continues this discussion, focusing on the spirituality of the students in relation to their attitudes toward religion. The images used in the course of the interviews and informal meetings enabled students to speak about different aspects of their lives. Many of the students openly spoke about their attitudes toward religion, as well as their own way of making sense of life's ultimate questions. This section begins with a discussion of the students' attitudes toward the traditional church[563] and then moves on to describe their attitudes toward Protestantism, New Religions and Buddhism. Then the focus turns to two of the issues that surround the students' emerging spirituality: syncretism and relativism.

Orthodoxy

As previously stated, three of the students classified as 'finders' found their spiritual answers within the Orthodox Church. These three students openly identified themselves as Orthodox believers, although one of these students explained that he is a 'religious man' because his grandfather's father built the Orthodox Church in their village.[564] Interestingly, only one of the Orthodox students and the Protestant student regularly attended church. Out of all the students interviewed, half said that they had been baptised. Although a majority were baptised as children, four said that they decided to be baptised as teenagers. For example, one seeker student said that her parents said, "when you are ready for [baptism], then you can do it." She said she decided to be baptised when she

---

[560] From interview 18-F-SI-010402.
[561] From interview 19-F-NL-290402.
[562] From interview 20-F-KM-130202.
[563] The terms 'traditional church' and 'Orthodox Church' are used interchangeably to refer to the Orthodox Church in Ukraine including the UOC-MP, UOC-KP, UAOC and the Greek Catholic Church, because Orthodoxy is the historical church of the region.
[564] From interview 17-M-KM-130202.

was sixteen, because, as she said, she "felt something in myself." She said it was connected with her "inner world", and she "felt ready."[565] However, she found the actual service of baptism "scary", and said that she does not go to church regularly. Also, as mentioned above, a finder student said that when he was twelve years old he felt a great spiritual need to be baptised. He explained that after his baptism he experienced religious revival for a while, before this feeling died away, and did not resurface again for several years.[566]

During the interview, if students said that they had been baptised, then they would be asked whether they normally wear a cross. Within the Orthodox tradition, a person is given a cross at baptism and instructed to wear it around their neck. Participant observation had revealed that most practicing Orthodox believers did tend to wear a cross, usually under their clothes. However, only one student, 'Sasha', the Orthodox finder, still wore the cross that he had been given at his baptism. Three students said that they still kept their crosses without wearing them, but most simply said that they do not wear a cross. One sceptic student said, 'I just do not think about these things.'[567]

Several of the students who were not finders expressed an interest in the Orthodox Church. For example, one seeker student told me, "Well, generally speaking I am a believer, but I am not religious. I like to go to the church sometimes when I am in a bad mood, because there is a good atmosphere there."[568] He went on to explain that rock music is relevant to him, particularly the lyrics of the group Aquarium, whose music he said is "close to my soul."[569] Indeed, whether relevant or not, the church environment seemed to have some sort of draw for students. One spectator student said that the previous Christmas she went along with her roommate to an Orthodox service in a cathedral. She said, "There were a lot of people there, and they were pushing and it was very uncomfortable. But in the church it was very beautiful. I liked it – the atmosphere was so different."[570]

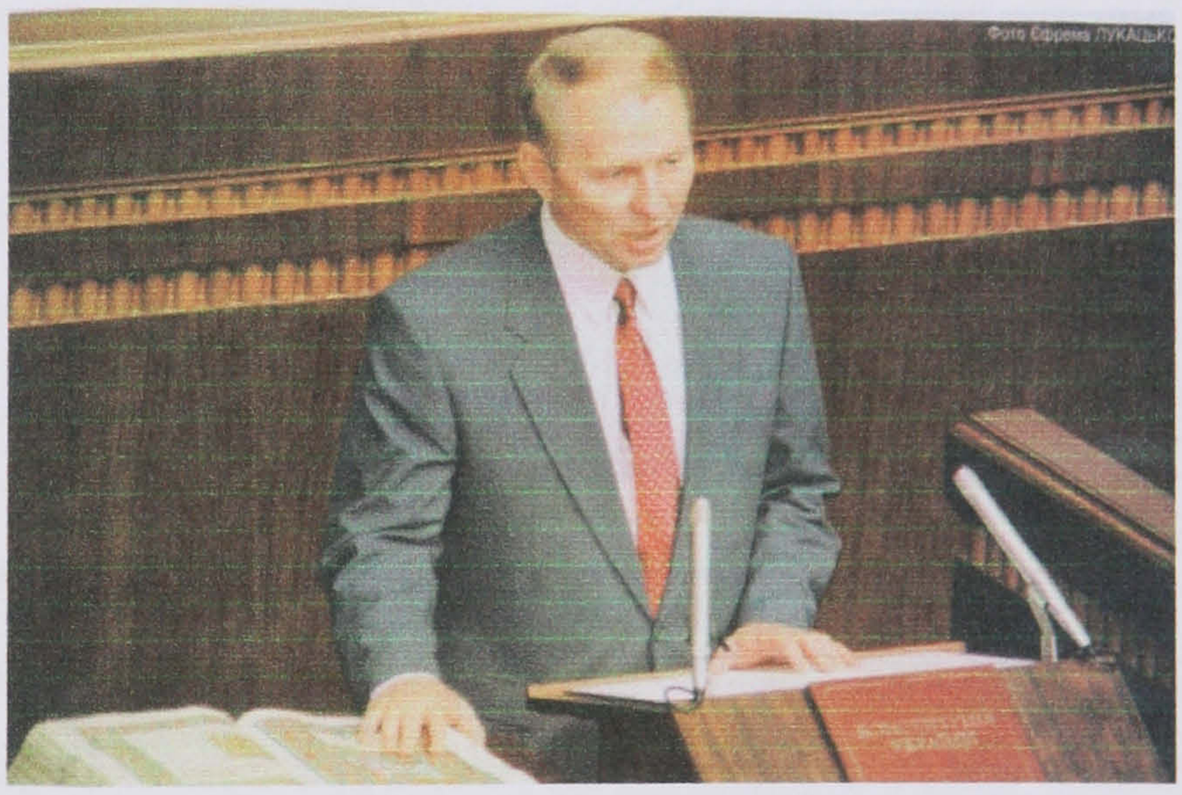
The Orthodox Church came under harsh criticism, though, from many students. One seeker student expressed her frustration with the institutional church, saying that the

---

[565] From interview 19-F-NL-100602.
[566] From interview 22-M-AS-250502.
[567] From interview 21-M-KM-090402.
[568] From interview 17-M-SU-110402.
[569] From interview 17-M-SU-110402.
[570] From interview 19-F-NL-290402.

church just wants people to believe, without explaining or giving proof that its dictums are true. She also said that the church is out of touch with society and has too many demanding rules.[571] Another seeker said that she searched for a church when she was a teenager, and chose the Greek Catholic church over the Russian Orthodox. When probed to discover why she made this choice, she said that she does not like the Orthodox Church because one cannot sit down in the services.[572] In general, the students indicated that the Orthodox Church is not 'user friendly'. They said that the church does not answer their spiritual questions and instead demands that they subscribe to all the church's beliefs. Students mentioned that the church has many rules and restrictions, and several mentioned that they did not go to the church because they did not want to be told to wear a head scarf or be expected to stand for many hours. They seemed to be saying that church was not a place where they could express themselves but instead they felt pushed into the church's mould.

Furthermore, several of the students' comments revealed that they see the church as a relic from pre-Soviet days. They believed that the church is to be respected as a historical reminder of the past, in the same way that old icons are valued as a part of Ukrainian 'folk' traditions. Interestingly, one student classified as a sceptic because he said that he no longer believes in God, joked about the 'atavism' of the photograph in the image archive of the president of Ukraine sworn into office with his hand on the Bible. *(Pictured)* He thought it was funny because he said that President Kuchma is not a religious person in any way, for many years an ardent atheist, so it is meaningless for him to swear on the Bible. He said, "It makes absolutely no sense."[573] Orthodox church leaders appear to expect students to flock back to the church in search of spiritual answers now that the Soviet Union has collapsed, but most of the interviewees, fifteen of the twenty students interviewed, did not did not go to the Orthodox Church in search of answers to their questions of ultimate meaning.



---

[571] From interview 19-F-NL-100602.
[572] From interview 23-F-KM-020402.
[573] From interview 21-M-KM-090402.

Protestantism

For the most part, students had very little to say about Protestantism. 'Sasha', the committed Orthodox finder, talked about a painful experience when he met two Protestant students at his university who were also studying sociology of religion. He said that at first they were pleased to discover that he was also a "believer." However, once they learned that he was Orthodox, they disassociated themselves from him, saying that he was an "idol worshipper."[574] This experience caused him to be wary of Protestant believers.

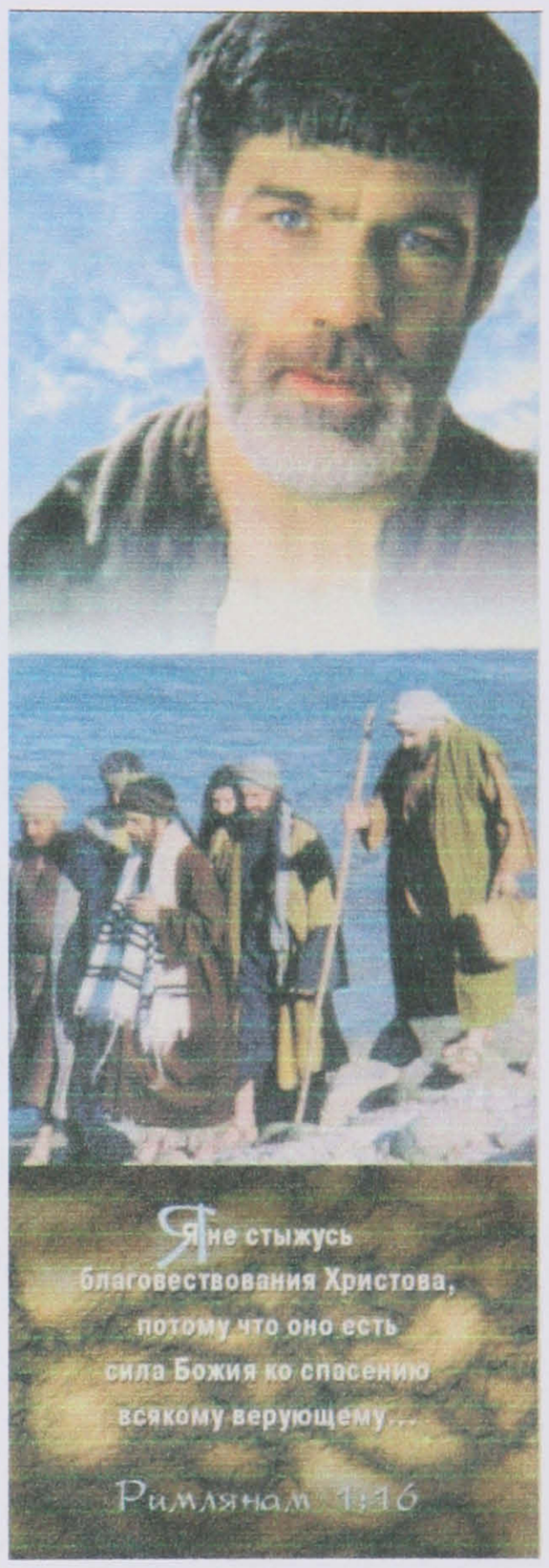
Only one student openly identified herself as Protestant and adamantly differentiated herself from the Orthodox Church. For example, her reason for not putting an icon on her wall was that "people might get the wrong message, thinking that [the icon] could be something that I believe brings me luck, or helps me pass my exams. They might think that I believe that particular thing helps me, that it's not God himself who helps. Well, if you put it on your wall, people are like, 'Oh, you are just like us. We believe the same thing.'"[575] Furthermore, when asked if she could think of an image or picture that she would like to put on her wall, she said, "I wish I had a picture of Jesus. I would put that on my wall. But no one really knows what he looks like. I mean we have ideas, but no one has seen him."[576] This is a very Protestant perspective on picturing Jesus – particularly interesting in her context because icons of Jesus are sold on street corners and in churches and kiosks throughout the city of Kiev. She clearly wanted to identify herself as a believer through putting an image of Jesus on her wall, but the notion of putting an icon of Jesus did not occur to her as an option.

The field research included a visit to a large Baptist church in Kiev, which was part of the Ukrainian Baptist Union. A student who attended this church helped with translation.[577] Over coffee later, she said that when she was a teenager, she met a young man at school who invited her to the Baptist church in her city. Eventually she became a believer and joined a small group for young people at that church. Her experience was not entirely positive and she was highly critical of the church leaders who placed strict guidelines on people. For example, she said that at church, women were forbidden to wear jewellery and required to wear longs skirts instead of trousers. Furthermore, the church leaders told

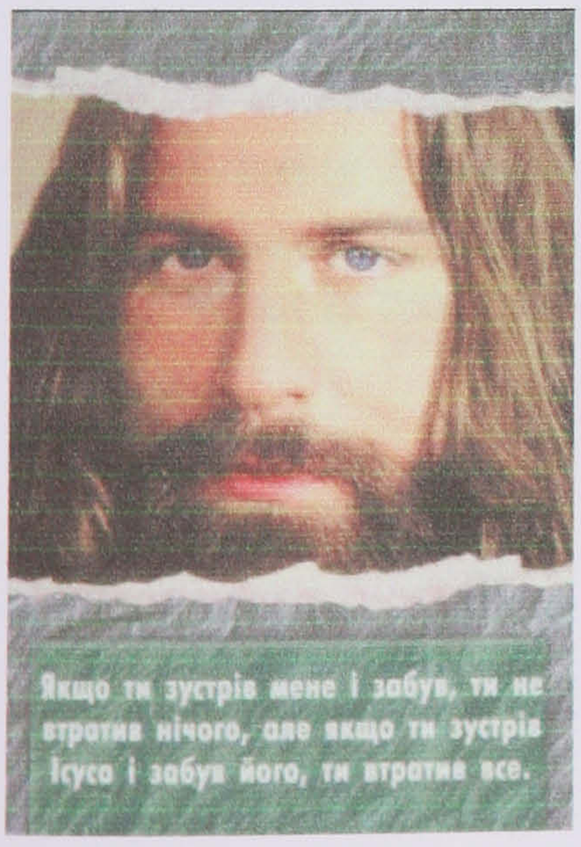
---

[574] From interview 22-M-AS-250502.
[575] From interview 23-F-NL-180602.
[576] From interview 23-F-NL-180602.
[577] This student helped with the research but was not one of the twenty interviewed as part of the case study. This conversation took place in Kiev, Ukraine on 29 March 2002.

the young people that they must not drink alcohol, smoke or dance. She said that on the day that she was baptized, the pastors told her that she should start to wear long skirts every day, not just on Sundays. She believed that some of the strict rules have come into practice recently because she had seen some old photographs of people in the church, and some of the women pictured were wearing short skirts. Moreover, she felt that the church demonstrated a lack of engagement with culture; for example, the church leaders taught that young people should not listen to rock music, telling them that it is "from Satan." But when asked if she thought that there was hope for the future of the Baptist church, she said that younger men training for the ministry seemed to be more 'open', so perhaps over time church leaders might be more sympathetic to young people.



Once a month there is Christian book market in Kiev that includes stalls of booksellers from various Christian groups and publishers, primarily Protestant but there were a few tables of Orthodox and Catholic published material as well. At a book table with many Protestant books translated from English, when the clerk was asked which product was his best seller, without hesitating he said, 'these cards' and pointed to a bookmark *(pictured)*. It has the image of the apostle Paul at the top and the disciples in the middle and a Bible verse at the bottom.[578] These cards and bookmarks were printed by a Christian publisher, Baruch Books, located in Kiev. In an interview, the owner, Tanya Mikhaylik, said that she had co-founded Baruch Books with her husband, not only as a Christian book publisher but also as a translation company. When asked about one of the cards published by her company, on one side it had a calendar and on the other was a picture of Jesus, she said that the calendar's picture of Jesus came from the film, *Jesus*, based on the book of Matthew. *(Pictured left. The words at the bottom say, 'You can look at me and not remember me, but if you look*



[578] The verse is Romans 1:16, "I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, because it is the power of God for the salvation of everyone who believes . . ."

on the face of Jesus you will always remember.') Mikhaylik said, "Jesus is looking at you and challenging you."[579] When asked about the purpose of the image, she said that it could be used for Christian witness, because it could turn someone back to God who has slipped away. She said, "They won't forget Christ when they look at this picture." She also said that at church she observed that people tend to put this type of card in their Bibles or give them to each other as gifts. During a visit to one of Baruch's bookshops, the shop attendant was asked about the bookmark picturing the apostle Paul. He explained that this bookmark is one of the most popular products that they sell. He said that the image of Paul at the top of the bookmark is from the film, *Emissary*, based on the Acts of the Apostles.

The similarities of these cards with icons is unmistakeable, particularly the image of Paul at the top of the bookmark or the image of Christ's face on the calendar. Both figures look out and engage the viewer, seeming to expect a response. It is as though Paul and Jesus communicate through the picture to the viewer, speaking the words at the bottom of the card. The background is otherworldly, just as with many icons the context is vague because the pictured person is in the heavenly realm. Clearly, the Protestant student who longed for a picture of Jesus to put on her wall is not the only Protestant who desires an image of Jesus or the early Christians. These 'Protestant icons' seemed to perform a task not dissimilar to icons, reminding believers of their faith and calling for a response.

New Religions

The bookstall study in Kiev showed that there appears to be an interest in esoteric spirituality across the age groups. The administered questionnaire consisted of three questions:

1) What is the general topic of your books?
2) What is the average number of books that you sell in a day?
3) What is the average age of the people who buy your books?

---

[579] Interview with Tanya Mikhaylik of Baruch Publishing, Kiev, Ukraine, 6 June 2002.

Types of Books	Number of Bookstalls
Popular Fiction	10
Textbooks/Dictionaries	9
Esoteric/New Age	7
Children/Teen Lit	6
Ukrainian Literature	5
Computer Literature	4
English Lang. Learning	3
Christian[580]	3
Economics	2
Puzzles/Cards	2
Self-help/Psych/Health	1
Tourism/Travel	1
English Literature	1
Art	1
Cooking	1

This survey was performed to discover whether booksellers had insights into the spiritual search of Ukrainian people through the books they buy. In addition, it tested to see whether the topic of book sales related to the age of those buying the books. The table shows the results for question 1, by category.

The booksellers were often hesitant to reveal how many books they sell a day. Yet one of the book sellers at an Esoteric/New Age stand claimed to sell more than seventy books a day, by far the largest claim of any other seller. On the other hand, the Orthodox bookseller admitted to selling between three and ten books per month, by far the smallest number of books claimed to be sold. Furthermore, the booksellers did not really seem to notice a certain average age of their buyers. Most answered that their buyers were 'all ages' or various ages. The only consistent pattern was that students tended to buy textbooks and parents tended to buy children's literature.

This research was far from conclusive about the reading habits of people in Kiev. Nevertheless, it does indicate an interest in Esoteric and New Age spirituality across age groups. A student who frequents this book market was asked whether she thought this was accurate, and she said that, judging by the books on her friends' shelves, it is most likely true that the esoteric bookstalls sell more than any of the other stalls.

The interviews tested to see whether students were interested in new religions by including a drawing called the 'Chart of the Divine Self' in the image archive *(pictured)*. Interestingly, a majority, thirteen, of the students said that they would never

[580] 1 Orthodox, 1 Charismatic, 1 mixture of types of Christian literature.

put it on their wall. A seeker student looked at this picture and said he would not put it up because it was from a sect. He said he could not relate to religious sects because he just does not understand them and they are not relevant to him.[581] One student, who was an Orthodox finder, said that he would not put this drawing on his wall because it represents paganism.[582] On the other hand, the Protestant finder mistook this image as representing the Trinity, and was the only student who said that she would definitely put this image on her wall. She said that she would put it on her wall as a tool for provoking questions about Christianity.[583] In fact, several other students did not recognise it as an image from a new religion. One student, looking at this image, equated it with an icon, stating that her parents have icons on the wall in their home, but she personally does not feel it is necessary to place icons on the wall, the shelf is better.[584] Another student said that he would not put this image on his wall because "Christian motifs oppress me." When pressed on why he thought it was Christian, he pointed to the central figure and identified him as Jesus.[585]

Only one student seemed well informed about new religions. A philosophy student, she said that the image was from a Ukrainian cult called 'The White Brotherhood'. The woman pictured is the cult's founder, 'Mary David Christ' and the other figures are her forerunners, thus forming some sort of trinity. She said that the rings represent the body's seven auras, with each colour referring to a particular aspect of the person, such as mind, reason, divinity, etc. She also said that people believed that if they prayed to this picture they would be reincarnated. She said, "these new religions are a little bit strange."[586] She said she would not put this image on her wall because she does not agree with the ideology of this new religion. She also said that the image is for "meditation, for praying" and it would be impossible to put it on her wall because this would indicate that she was using the image in this way.[587] She said that people from a new religious cult came to a religious studies lecture at her university to explain their faith. Although they tried to convince the students that their beliefs were rational, she said she and her classmates were not convinced. She also talked about the Unitarian Church and how they had held a huge wedding ceremony in the Kiev Football stadium, performing 60,000 weddings. The

---

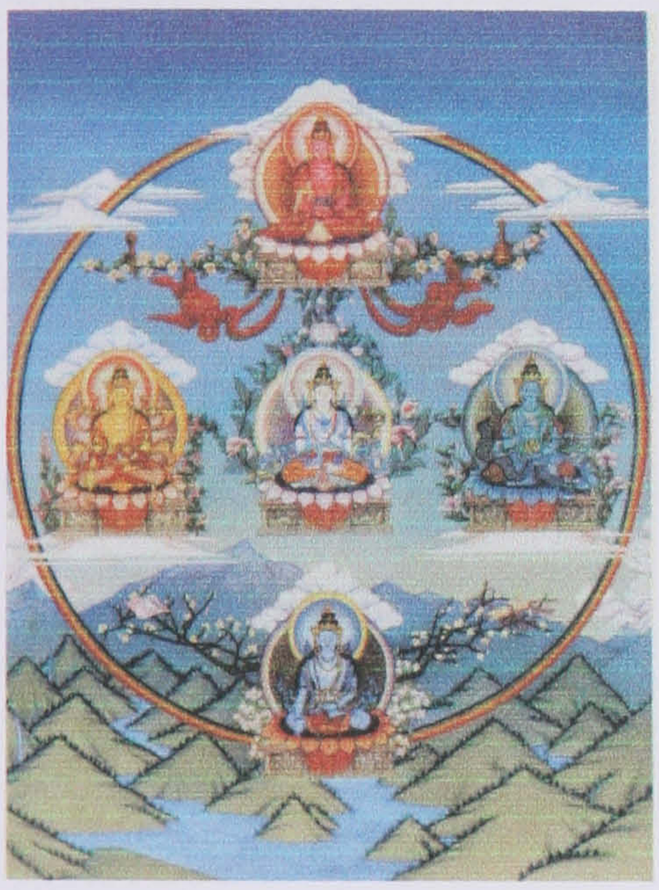
[581] From interview 17-M-SU-110402.
[582] From interview 22-M-AS-250502.
[583] From interview 23-F-NL-180602.
[584] From interview 19-F-NL-100602.
[585] From interview 17-M-SU-020502.
[586] From interview 23-F-KM-020402.
[587] From interview 23-F-KM-020402.

brides formed one queue, the grooms another, and they all marched together and were married by a church leader. She said that people believed that being married by this particular person would mean that their marriage would be blessed. For her, new religions were strange and the adherents seemed naïve.

In general, most of the students seemed wary of new religions, not wanting to be pressurised into joining a cult. It is interesting that, particularly in the case of The White Brotherhood, an image is used for meditation and prayer. This supports the theory that in Ukraine images often have spiritual functions.

Buddhism

In the interviews six students mentioned Buddhist sayings or talked about Buddhist ideas. Indeed, there is a fascination with Buddhist ideology amongst students in Ukraine. A Buddhist image was included in the image archive *(pictured)*.



One student, when looking at this drawing of Buddhas, said. "I like this. It's very spiritual. It's interesting for the philosophical idea of a circle with gods inside."[588] Furthermore, when a student seeker was asked what people would learn about her if they saw this picture on her wall, she said that people would think that she is 'interested in something a little exotic and philosophical'.[589] She said that she is not Buddhist but she has become interested in Buddhism since reading a book called *Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance*. Another previously mentioned seeker, 'Vincent', who identifies himself as Jewish by heritage, said that he was reading Buddhist philosophy and described his admiration for a Japanese boxer who had converted to Buddhism.[590] Another student seeker talked about the difficulty of whether one should believe in God first or should wait until there is proof, and reflected on this tension through a story of a disciple's conversation with Buddha. She said, "In Buddhism, there is a story in which a student asked Buddha, 'Prove to me that you are the god.' He said, 'all right.' And showed him a miracle and then said to his student, 'I will find another one who will believe in me, not in my miracles.' And this is

---

[588] From interview 18-F-SI-010402.
[589] From interview 23-F-KM-020402.
[590] From interview 17-M-SU-020502.

very interesting."[591] However, for most students, this fascination with Buddhism rarely translates into conversion to Buddhism or even the practice of Buddhism. Instead, this trend is a manifestation of the hunger students have for spirituality and their interest in making sense of the transcendent. Buddhism appealed because it was regarded as exotic and spiritual, but for most of the students it was a trendy ideology, not a religion.

On the other hand, one student said that he is a 'free Zen Buddhist'.[592] As previously mentioned, he had a Buddhist 'Credo' on his wall and several images of Boddhisatva, the Buddhist god of wisdom. At first, it appeared that he might be a finder, having found the answers to his questions of ultimate meaning within Buddhism. However, as the interview progressed, it became clear that he remained a seeker, still on a journey in search of truth and in the process of creating his own spiritual beliefs. He was hostile to Christian beliefs, but seemed to have created his own 'happiness' religion with Buddhist elements. His credo said, "I resolve to be happy everyday." In the corner of his room was a cassette resting on the floor and leaning in the corner of the two walls. On the cover of the cassette was a picture of a Buddha. Leaning over and framing the image of the Buddha was an old horseshoe, which he had found not far from the dorm one day when he was running. He explained that this arrangement in the corner symbolises happiness and luck. When asked whether he would put an icon on his wall, he said that he would not put it on his wall, but he might put it in the corner with the image of Buddha and horseshoe. It seems that he has taken the Orthodox tradition of the holy corner for icons and has placed his own symbols of happiness and luck there.

Syncretism

The research findings revealed several interesting instances of syncretism, all in the practices and beliefs of students who were classified as seekers. Syncretism is understood here as an issue of belief; not merely the wedding of religious or cultural forms and objects. Syncretism is more than a misuse or practice of a particular cultural form; it is the belief behind the practice. The previous description of a student creating his own holy corner with an image of Buddha and a horseshoe is an obvious example of syncretism. The student not only combined Buddhist and Orthodox practices by creating his own type of holy corner, he also sincerely believed that the horseshoe and image of Buddha would bring him luck. Furthermore, a student was described above who had an interest in Islam

---

[591] From interview 19-F-NL-100602.
[592] From interview 23-M-KM-170402.

but who identifies herself as Orthodox. She said that the only image she would put on her wall would be of what she calls a 'saint person'. She explained that saint people are not Orthodox saints or God, but people who are like saints to her. When asked to give an example, she said, "Osama bin Ladin for me is like a saint person. I mean that I would do everything that he would tell me. I love him, I adore him."[593] She mixes a distortion of the Orthodox use of icons with her own idea of 'saint people' and pays homage to an Islamic fundamentalist. Another student, who openly spoke about her interest in mysticism and the occult, had a rosary hanging on her wall. She said that for her it is like a talisman or an amulet, because it is from a monastery in France where a miraculous showing of the Virgin Mary occurred.[594]

Furthermore, as mentioned in a previous chapter, one student created her own symbol based on Zodiac star signs and Chinese philosophy. *(The symbol is pictured here).* She explained that the water in the symbol is derived from her star sign Aquarius. Furthermore, the fire is included because within *The Chinese Book of Changes* she discovered that her symbols were fire and water. She said, "It's a very strange person, that I am, because it is fire mixed with water. That's why I made this picture."[595] It became clear that she had done a fair amount of research into these symbols, and when asked why she found this so interesting, she said,

> "I don't know. Maybe it's the one thing that I've really believed in. I really do. Maybe because it is based on world elements, like water, fire, nature, naturalness, also it's based on what exactly has happened, like the date of your birth, or you met someone or you did something special. So, it's based on some small things and maybe this is true. And it's a very, very old tradition. Actually, the Chinese philosopher was very, very wise. And Chinese philosophy is very wise. Also, the thing is, it's not a religion. You don't need to believe in God in these things. Well, you believe in nature and natural forces. But you don't need any god. Like, 'I give my heart to the Krishna or the Jesus Christ. And he would do anything for me.' Maybe it's good for someone who doesn't believe in it."[596]

She went on to say that although she believes there is 'some power' in the world, she believes that she is free to discover it based on her own experiences. Essentially, this

---

[593] From interview 18-F-SU-080502.
[594] From interview 20-F-KM-130202.
[595] From interview 18-F-SI-010402.
[596] From interview 18-F-SI-010402.

student worships herself. She created an image, drawn from astrology and Chinese philosophy, to represent herself and plans to frame it, hang it on the wall, and possibly have it tattooed onto her body. The only pictures of people that she had on her wall were of herself. Most of the other images were entirely self-referential. Her authority for knowledge about God was located within her own beliefs about transcendence.

This student valued Chinese philosophy because it was 'very, very old', but what she may not realise is that there is a long tradition of religious syncretism in Ukraine. As mentioned in Chapter 3, when Orthodoxy came to the region it overlaid many pagan practices. Some people believe that certain Orthodox practices in Ukraine are still a kind of syncretism with ancient pagan rites, particularly in relation to icons. Johnny Caugin, a practicing Orthodox believer and philosophy student in a background interview in Kiev said, "in Ukraine there are strongly pagan roots, and so it also influences the understanding and interpretation of icons. So this can give rise to many problems. For example, one can come across icons from the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries, which still have pagan elements in them, such as different kinds of sun symbols and colored eggs. There are many different examples of this kind."[597] He said that the church approves of the practice of carrying small icons in pockets or wearing a cross because these consecrated objects are believed to offer a measure of protection to the person carrying them. However, he admitted that sometimes, church leaders argue about whether to fight against false beliefs about icons and their treatment as amulets. Particularly in rural areas, Caugin said that the use of icons has been 'idolatrous from the beginning', since the icons merely replaced pagan idols in the people's consciousness. Therefore, he said that the priests find they have to work hard at explaining the proper understanding of icons to these people, particularly to 'old women', who 'stick to these old traditions and worship icons.'

Another example was discovered in a Ukrainian newspaper in an article entitled, "The Power of the Living Word." The writer, Marfa, explained how one should drive out colic from a child, through casting a spell:

> "Put fresh water in a bowl and make the sign of the cross in the water with a knife. Say three times, 'Lord, help this baby for whom we have prayed be free of colic. Colic Mistolic. I am calling you to come out of this child so that I may address you. You will come out, you will not cause pain to these yellow bones or this white body, you will not dry up this red blood.' Rub this water on the body

[597] From interview with Johnny Caugin, 9 Oct 2001, Kiev, Ukraine.

> of the child where the pain is. And in the Holy Corner under the icons, give this water to the child to drink and make the sign of the cross. Do this three days in a row."[598]

This is an obvious example of a form of syncretism combining Christian forms and occult practice. This type of advice has been passed down through the generations in Ukraine via those who are referred to as 'wise women'. The 'wise woman', Marfa, who wrote this particular article, also wrote that a majority of people suffer from the affects of black magic stemming from another person's jealousy or anger. She claimed that a personal meeting with herself is the only solution, because she can remove hexes, the affects of the evil eye, love spells, and she can also give a person everlasting protection from evil powers. At the end of the article the reader is told that a private meeting with Marfa costs 60 UAH (about £10) and this includes an amulet and a charmed photograph of Marfa *(pictured above)*.

The notion of a 'charmed photograph' let to a further investigation, resulting in the discovery of a promotional publication that included not only the photograph of Marfa but also of another woman, 'Irina'. With her hand outstretched, Marfa appeared to be casting a spell on the viewer. We also see that Irina's right hand appears to be raised in blessing *(pictured left)*. Interestingly, both of the women are pictured gazing at the viewer, and both are performing some sort of spiritual action with their hand. The eye contact and the actions of the hands show that the images were intended for interaction. A clue to the use of the images was found within testimonial letters in the publication that had apparently been written to Marfa, thanking her for her help, updating her on their (always successful) healings and often asking for additional advice. One letter was from a woman who had asked for Marfa's help with her husband's impotency. Marfa had advised her husband to regularly place the photograph of Marfa on himself for an hour at a time. The wife wrote that her husband was so excitable now that she wondered whether Marfa could offer advice on how to lessen the affects! Thus, these

---

[598] "The Power of the Living Word" *Being Healthy*, April 2002, vol 4, p. 1.

images were used as though they had magical properties, not unlike the way icons are sometimes believed to have supernatural healing powers. These 'unholy icons' are an example of visual syncretism, mixing Orthodox practice with pagan rituals.

Relativism

Only one of the students, classified as a seeker, expressed a view that could be described as relativistic, in the sense of believing that different viewpoints can all be true. This student said that she would put an image of Buddha on her wall, not because she was Buddhist, but to remind her that her worldview is not the ultimate truth. She said that she tries to remember that other people's ideas are needed to have a holistic perspective.[599]

However, as previously mentioned, six students rooted their understanding of God and transcendence within themselves. For example, one student said, "my belief in God is not so strong. I just believe. I don't understand Catholics or Baptists, yes? It is so difficult for me, because church for all the years has been in history and has too many commands. I think that church makes people do what the church wants. And I think that we have only one life and we should live it. Of course we must respect God and do everything he wants. But in our own way. It's my way. And I want to live my life like I want."[600] This student has decided that she will choose what to believe about God for herself. Another student summed it up thus, "The important thing is to believe inside yourself, you don't need some institutions, say, churches. It is important to believe, in my opinion, and that's all. And not even to speak about it, let's say even this much."[601] It is clear that for him, spirituality is important, but it is private and located outside the traditional church. Another student said, "I don't like these [church] communities, I just want to accept God like I accept him, not like other people."[602] Students expressed the sense that religion was a matter of the heart, and not for public display. For example, a seventeen year-old maths student, from a Ukrainian Jewish background, explained that he would not put an icon on his wall because, "religion must be in the heart but not on the wall."[603] His response was surprising, because he could have given the fact that he was Jewish and not Orthodox as a reason for not putting an icon on the wall. Instead, he explained that religion should be an internal matter. Furthermore, one student explained that she would not put the icon on the

---

[599] From interview 23-F-KM-020402.
[600] From interview 19-F-NL-100602.
[601] From interview 19-M-SI-280302.
[602] From interview 18-F-SU-080502.
[603] From interview 17-M-SU-020502.

wall, not because she is an unbeliever, but because her mind could not grasp icons. Instead, she said that these things should be "somewhere in the soul."[604]

Interestingly, for one student this privatisation of belief did not only apply to traditional faith, but his own inner quest for meaning. This twenty-one year-old philosophy student, a self proclaimed atheist, when shown a drawing of a Buddha, and then the icon, and later a New Age 'Chart of the Divine Self', emphatically stated that none of these 'gods' should be put on the wall. Additionally, when he stated that he was a Jim Morrison fan, he was asked why he did not choose to put the photograph of Jim Morrison on his wall. He said, "This is my favourite musician, and I think it is a kind of abuse against the god. At least, he should be in the heart, but not on the wall."[605]

It was startling that so few of the students expressed relativistic opinions about faith and belief. Of course, relativism is a product of individualism – truth becomes relative because each person must decide for himself what is true. Then, the search for God becomes an exercise in which the individual person chooses what he or she wants God to be, seeking it within himself or herself. However, individualism is not yet fully developed in Ukraine, since Eastern Europe was not as profoundly influenced by the Enlightenment as the West. Hence, many people are still at the early stages of developing individualistic tendencies, although individualism increasingly appears to characterise the worldview of the younger generation.[606] This matter will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

This chapter has presented the research results, beginning with a description of how the students chose images to put on their walls, and how those images functioned. We saw that the images were used for interaction, and in some cases, this interaction performed a spiritual role. This spiritual function was analysed in terms of five aspects of a spiritual search: identity, security, community affiliation, ultimate meaning and transcendence. We saw that a scale of spiritual interest emerged from the data, which gave us more clarity in the final section as we looked at the forms that the spiritual search took for various students. The following chapter offers an analysis of these research findings.

---

[604] From interview 19-F-KM-050202.
[605] From interview 21-M-KM-090402.
[606] See Anatoly Kolodniy 2000 'Traditional Faiths in Ukraine and Missionary Activity', *Religion in Eastern Europe* XX(1). http://www.georgefox.edu/academics/undergrad/departments/soc-swk/ree/kolodniy_tfi_01.html (viewed on 16/4/2004).

Chapter 5

Analysis: The Current Spiritual Climate in Ukraine

In this chapter the discussion broadens to describe how the current spiritual climate is situated within the post-Soviet plurality of beliefs in Ukraine among students. It has been argued that, based on the religious history of Ukraine, and against a backdrop of Eastern Orthodox iconography and Soviet artistic realism, Ukrainian culture is deeply visual in a way that is untypical of Western Europe. The findings showed that most students were ambivalent toward Soviet monuments and most did not use icons to express their personal pursuit of spirituality. The traditional spiritual function of icons in Ukraine was altered by the Soviet use of images, and now contemporary Ukrainian students are learning to use images to articulate and shape their own personal spirituality.

Colleen McDannell, Professor of Religious Studies at the University of Utah, observes that interaction with material objects shapes religious beliefs within a particular cultural context. "Experiencing the physical dimension of religion helps bring about religious values, norms, behaviours, and attitudes. Practicing religion sets into play ways of thinking. It is the continual interaction with objects and images that makes one religious in a particular manner."[607] McDannell studied religious practice through an analysis of how Christian material culture functioned in American society. She argues that the study of material culture is particularly enlightening when seeking to discover how the sacred and profane are intertwined in the use of objects in people's everyday lives. In Chapter 2 there was a description of the traditional Ukrainian religious practice whereby a family would have a 'holy' or 'beautiful' corner of their home in which they would hang icons. Later, during the time of the Soviet Union, people created a 'red' corner within the common areas of blocks of flats or in a person's private living space.[608] The corner would often contain a banner that had been given for hard work at the factory,

---

[607] Colleen McDannell 1995 *Material Christianity: Religion and Popular Culture in America*. London: Yale University Press. p. 2.

[608] The similarity of the 'red' corner with images of Lenin and Stalin to the 'beautiful' corner with icons is striking, not least because in Russian the word for beautiful, *krasivy,* sounds much like the Russian word for red, *krasny*.

or a good deed done for the benefit of the Soviet State. There is a recreated 'red corner' in the Kharkov Museum of History *(pictured above)*. The large red banner was embroidered with images of Lenin and Stalin, and the text explains that it was awarded to a factory section that achieved the highest levels that year.

Following McDannell's line of reasoning, people's interaction with physical images sheds light on their religious behaviours and attitudes. Thus, the example above demonstrates that the cultural form of placing icons in a corner was continued through the Soviet red corner, reflecting a continued need to express spiritual identity in a physical part of the home. The argument of this dissertation is that the raw spiritual beliefs of young people can be examined through the study of their use of images in their living space. It was suggested in the previous chapter that walls in personal space are reserved for sacred images, as shown by students' hesitation to put a photograph of their friends or family on the wall. We also saw that for some Ukrainian students, the act of putting a depiction of a person on the wall would indicate some sort of act of worship or idolatry. As reported in the previous chapter, the majority of images placed on students' walls portrayed pop stars and celebrities, both imported and national. We saw that it was the ideals and lifestyle of those portrayed that attracted students to the pop stars that they had on their walls. The images of pop stars performed three spiritual functions: identity building, meaning making and offering a vision of a better life. It was argued that identification with a subculture operates like a religion when it provides meaning and heroes to revere. This was evident in the fieldwork results when students talked about their favourite pop artists and types of music that they like, revealing that their belief systems, their dress style, and even political convictions were all tied to their youth subculture identification.

McDannell argues that a study of the spiritual function of material objects can demonstrate the 'real' beliefs of people when society's religious experts would not support their views.[609] Therefore, this dissertation relied on the study of students' use of images in their living space for indicators of spirituality instead of interviews or surveys of religious leaders. The following section looks at the current state of Orthodox belief in light of the issues that were raised through the fieldwork results. This is followed by a section that examines similar aspects of the spiritual situation in light of the growth of Protestantism. The second half of the chapter is concerned with two issues that form the

---

[609] McDannell *Material Christianity: Religion and Popular Culture in America*. p. 8.

backdrop for the religious situation: the development of pluralist attitudes in the Ukrainian context and the adoption of a privatised notion of religiosity.

Orthodoxy

As we saw in the previous chapter, three of the students found their spiritual answers within the Orthodox Church. However, the Orthodox Church came under harsh criticism from many students, who said that the church has too many rules and restrictions. Fifteen of the twenty students interviewed said they would not go to the Orthodox Church in search of answers to their questions of ultimate meaning. Their comments indicated that for them the traditional church was not a place where they could express themselves but instead where they would be forced into the church's mould. Furthermore, several of the students' comments revealed that they see the church as a relic from pre-Soviet days.

Surveys show that many people in Ukraine consider themselves to be Orthodox, and even more people believe in God. The Archive of Ukrainian Public Opinion, a project performed in partnership between the Democratic Initiatives Foundation, in Kiev, Ukraine, and the Centre for the Study of Democracy, at Queen's University, in Canada, performed a survey questionnaire study of the attitudes of Ukrainian people in 1997.[610] The sample consisted of 1810 respondents aged eighteen or over. When asked whether they identify themselves by a religious confession, 34.4% said they were 'non-religious', while 47.6% identified themselves with one of the four Orthodox groups: 32.7% Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Kiev Patriarchate, 7.3% Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Moscow Patriarchate, 7.1% Greek-Catholic and 0.5% Ukrainian Autocephalous. (A further 14.7% of the respondents said it was a difficult question to answer, and 2.4% answered 'other'). Interestingly, 71.6% of those surveyed said that they believe in God and 50% said that they 'completely' trust God. However, only 16.8% reported that they had attended at least one religious service in the last week, and a mere 2.5% said that they belong to a religious organisation or church community.

---

[610] This project of the Archive of Ukrainian Public Opinion was called "Ukrainian Society-1997: An Opinion Poll on the Attitudes and Living Conditions of the Ukrainian Population." It is the fourth survey conducted within research project "Ukrainian Society at the Edge of the 21st Century." Dr E. Golovakha and Dr N. Panina of the Institute of Sociology of Ukrainian National Academy of Science, Democratic Initiatives Foundation performed the research in May and June, 1997. The research was performed by means of a 'questionnaire interview', meaning that the interviewers left the questionnaires with selected respondents for completion and then retrieved them, thus they were able to control the quality of completion within the home of the respondent. All the data from this research is available at http://qsilver.queensu.ca/~csd/ukarchive/index.html (viewed on 25/04/04).

Therefore, if most people believe in God, and around half consider themselves to be Orthodox, why such low church attendance, why were there so few people in the Orthodox churches visited during the fieldwork, and why did only one of the students say that he attends the Orthodox Church regularly? Anatoly Kolodniy is a lecturer at Kiev Mohyla Academy and has recently founded the Centre for Religious Information and Freedom. His reflections on the current religious situation among young people in Ukraine are relevant to the concerns of this dissertation, not only because he has a Ukrainian perspective on the situation, but also because he teaches at the same university where ten of the young people interviewed are students. In an article in the journal *Religion in Eastern Europe*, he explains that traditional Orthodox practice in Ukraine is now experiencing an acute crisis.

> "This crisis is expressed not merely by Orthodoxy's division into four hostile churches but also by (1) its considerable loss of influence in the spiritual life of the individual and of the Ukrainian ethnos generally, (2) an absence of a deep and abiding faith among most Orthodox members, despite the increase of external and ritualistic demonstrations of religiosity, and (3) an absence of moral imperatives in the everyday life and religion of the Orthodox believer."[611]

Added to this, he observes that rigid conservatism and a "fixation with the performance of bare ritual" tends to alienate people, particularly students and educated people who want to think about and understand the meaning behind religious practice.[612] He comments that the young people who do join an Orthodox youth movement are often aggressively opposed to other religious groups, in a manner more political than missionary. He also writes that he believes that the Orthodox tradition is lacking in humanitarian work and does not seem to give individual attention to believers. "In the modern environment of societal fragmentation, each person seeks outside comfort, life-sustaining advice, and material assistance on his/her own. A definite indifference by the traditional churches to the needs and interests of the individual repels people."[613]

At times, traditional churches complain that people are not filling their services because Protestant churches and sectarian groups are stealing their adherents. But Kolodniy quotes the Archbishop of the Autocephalous Church, Ihor Issichenko, who recognises that the traditional churches are partly responsible if people search elsewhere for answers to their spiritual questions. "If people go to the false prophets, then that indicates that we did not

---

[611] Anatoly Kolodniy 2000 'Traditional Faiths in Ukraine and Missionary Activity', *Religion in Eastern Europe* XX(1). www.georgefox.edu/academics/undergrad/departments/soc-swk/ree/kolodniy_tfi_01.html (viewed on 16/4/2004).
[612] Ibid.
[613] Ibid.

teach them in time, did not quench their spiritual thirst, and did not give them the chance to meet the Living God in the holy Temple."[614] Kolodniy does not see much hope for the traditional churches in aiding young people in their spiritual quest. "It seems that the church has little to say to the current generation. It stands on its orthodoxy and lives in the past."[615]

Alexander Agadjanian, lecturer in the Centre for Religious Studies at the Russian State University in Moscow, has a more sympathetic view of this problem. His observations are based on post-Soviet Russia, but they equally apply to the situation in Ukraine, where people also lost their Soviet identity and now seek to find it in the midst of rapid social change. In a paper entitled "Globalisation and Identity Discourse in Russian Orthodoxy", he observes that the end of belief in Communism caused a vacuum of symbols and ideals – essentially society was spiritually bankrupted.[616] He notes that people in Russia did not immediately seek to fill this vacuum with spirituality drawn exclusively from the Orthodox Church. Agadjanian explains:

> "This rise of religion occurred in a quite new context, when the notion itself of 'religion' assumed a new meaning. A form of monolithic, absolutistic narrative, of which the Orthodox Church was a classical example, has largely lost its might. In line with a global trend that has partly affected the Russian cultural landscape, 'religion,' in a significant shift, now became a highly individualized expression of non-rigid, flexible quests that do not claim 'universal and eternal' validity."[617]

Agadjanian argues that although people were searching for a meta-narrative to make sense of life, they did not find it in the institution of the church. Therefore, the Orthodox Church has been forced to come to terms with both modernity and post-modernity as it seeks to locate itself in the global culture. Agadjanian perceives three main challenges that the Orthodox Church faces in the post-communist situation. First, post-Soviet society must adjust to new freedoms, not only for the Orthodox Church but also for other religions. Freedom brought autonomy for the church but also created the problem of competition with other religions and Christian groups. Second, the new post-Soviet geopolitical situation caused a reshuffling of the traditional national-centred model of the church, because Russian Orthodox communities exist outside of the nation of Russia, in Ukraine, Belarus, and among the diaspora across the world. Third, the government needs

---

[614] Ibid.
[615] Ibid.
[616] Alexander Agadjanian and Kathy Rousselet 2003 'Globalization and Identity Discourse in Russian Orthodoxy' *Challenges of Religious Plurality for Eastern and Central Europe Conference Paper*, Lviv, Ukraine.
[617] Ibid.

to adopt 'structural secularism', which would replace the anti-religion policies of the Soviets, but not be exclusively Orthodox like the Russian Empire.[618]

As mentioned in Chapter 3, Ukrainian political leaders' support of various nationalistic Orthodox groups caused a three-way split of the Orthodox Church. The second president of Ukraine, Leonid Kuchma, was relatively successful in maintaining a balance between the groups. However, they continue to compete for recognition as the state church, which is not surprising, since throughout the history of the region, political power has been tied in some manner to the church. Orthodox Bishop Kallistos Ware observes "because Church and nation were so closely associated, the Orthodox Slavs have often confused the two and have made the Church serve the ends of national politics . . . Nationalism has been the bane of Orthodoxy for the last ten centuries."[619]

Furthermore, the dramatic changes in society have overwhelmed the Orthodox Church and it still struggles to find its feet in this new and complex environment. For example, Ware points out that although the state returned many of the church buildings and monasteries to the church, they were not maintained over the years, and the church was left with huge amounts of costly repairs to be done on these dilapidated buildings. Theological training has been criticized for being narrow and outdated, and failing to prepare clergy for the challenges of ministry in the transformed social context.[620] The church also has had to learn how to organise youth and children's ministries and social work, since these were previously illegal.

Olga Nedavnya, Senior Researcher in the Religious Studies Department of the Philosophy Institute of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, in a paper entitled "Christian Churches in Modern Ukraine: Call for Religious Pluralism as Freedom of Choice", writes that the church has not given people with an atheist education sufficient reason to return to traditional worship and rituals.[621] With the availability of new information technologies, people are free to evaluate, compare and choose their own beliefs. She argues that traditional churches should focus on spiritual growth and theological education, but instead they seem uncompromising on their present course of self-preservation. She maintains that much energy goes not into answering modern spiritual

---

[618] Ibid.
[619] Kallistos Ware 1993 *The Orthodox Church*. London: Penguin. p. 77.
[620] Ibid. p. 161.
[621] Olga Nedavnya 2003 'Christian Churches in Modern Ukraine: Call for Religious Pluralism as Freedom of Choice' *Challenges of Religious Plurality for Eastern and Central Europe Conference Paper*, Lviv, Ukraine.

questions, but into limiting the work of others. On the other hand, she argues that the Protestant emphasis on the Bible, education and community has caused rapid growth. Moreover, in her opinion, these groups are successfully ministering to people because they are free to use the Ukrainian language and are often better equipped to respond to the spiritual needs of the people.

Protestantism

The fieldwork results in Chapter 4 showed that students had very little to say about Protestantism, with only one student who openly identified herself as Protestant. However, according to the Religious Information Service of Ukraine, a quarter of religious communities in Ukraine are Protestant.[622] Viktor Yelenskyi, editor of *Liudyna I Svit* (Person and World), a Ukrainian monthly academic journal of religious studies, theorizes that young people are particularly drawn to Protestant churches instead of traditional churches because of "the contrast between the spiritual questions of this generation and the answers which the traditional churches provide."[623] He also argues that Protestant groups are often more attractive to young people because they have greater financial means than traditional churches. Furthermore, he explains that charismatic churches appeal to many people because of 'manifestations of spiritual gifts'; coupled with the belief that faith in God will lead to 'successful living' and 'financial flourishing'.[624] However, he notes that studies performed by the RISU have found that since 1998 the number of Protestant religious organisations in Ukraine has grown at the same rate as the number of Orthodox communities. Therefore, he argues that statements that Ukraine is rapidly undergoing 'Protestantization' are an exaggeration by Protestant church leaders and a reactionary response from traditional church clergy.

Mark Elliott, editor of the journal *East-West Church & Ministry Report,* asserts in an article in 2001 that within Protestantism in the former Soviet Union, Pentecostal/Charismatic style churches are growing much more rapidly than are other Protestant churches. Based on his own research in the region in 2001, he writes, "Pentecostals/Charismatics in the former Soviet Union now outnumber other

---

[622] "Religious Organisations in Ukraine as of 1 January 2004", Religious Information Service of Ukraine, www.risu.org.ua (viewed on 06/05/04).
[623] Viktor Yelenskyi 2001 'The Process of Institutional Religion in Ukraine', *Religious Information Service of Ukraine*. www.risu.org.ua/eng/religion.and.society/processes.of.religion/ (viewed on 06/05/04)
[624] Ibid.

Evangelicals, conceivably as much as two to one."[625] Along the same lines as Yelenskyi, he explains that this is possibly due to the existing openness to manifestations of the spirit. Furthermore, in another more recent article in the *East-West Church & Ministry Report*, Edmund Rybarczyk argues that mysticism and attention to the spiritual attracts people to Pentecostal worship.[626] He found that both Orthodoxy and Pentecostalism emphasize a personal encounter with God and regard mystical-existential manifestations as 'normal and necessary'. He explains that both religious traditions encourage engagement with the transcendent God.

> "Indeed, as the two express it, to allow Christ's Spirit to transform the depths of one's being will necessitate mysterious and nearly inexpressible experiences. Each presents that mystery in ways that draw human persons to Christ: Orthodox through aesthetics, Pentecostals through kinesthetics. Both emphasize that the human person was created for a transforming fellowship with God."[627]

Rybarczyk argues that mysticism is the main reason why Pentecostal churches are continually attracting new members. Therefore, in light of the assertion of this dissertation that most people have a need for meaningful spirituality, it is possible that many people would find Pentecostal churches attractive because of their openness to spiritual experiences.

Protestantism may also provide a sense of community and security for church members. Catherine Wanner conducted ethnographic research in Ukraine between June 2000 and June 2002, interviewing recent converts to the Baptist faith or Pentecostalism.[628] She found that many Protestant converts were drawn to their new faith because they were attracted to the moral codes espoused by their new faith community. She writes, "this faith-as-lifestyle orientation becomes a totalising source of identity, overtaking in importance other factors such as nationality, class and language."[629] In fact, the new converts revealed that they tended to socialise only with other believers in their church. She discovered that this new membership usually meant an increase in social capital, which is highly valued in Ukrainian society. Church members helped the needy among them, and sometimes provided services for other church members without payment or at a reduced rate. She observes, "under one roof, individuals can reconstitute a sense of

---

[625] Mark Elliott 2001 'The Christian Population of Post-Soviet States', *East-West Church and Ministry Report* 9(3): 4.
[626] Edmund J. Rybarczyk 2004 'Pentecostalism and Eastern Orthodoxy'Ibid. 12(1).
[627] Ibid.
[628] Catherine Wanner 2003 'Advocating New Moralities: Conversion to Evangelicalism in Ukraine', *Religion, State and Society* 31(3): 273-287.
[629] Ibid. p. 277.

belonging, identity and economic security."[630] Wanner notes that the collectivism idealised by the Communist party is actually realised to a certain extent within these Protestant communities. She predictes that these communities will continue to grow, "as more and more people experience anomie in life in a postsocialist society teeming with choices and challenges, but short on clear guidelines for behaviour, belief and purpose, the promise of a shared, meaningful life with a supportive group of like-minded people will continue to exert appeal."[631]

Wanner may prove to be right, and the field research confirms that students are indeed seeking out closely-knit groups of like-minded people, but these subcultures are increasingly less likely to be Christian groups. In 2002 the REALIS Christian Resource Centre in Ukraine conducted survey research among 350 students at Kiev Mohyla Academy.[632] The purpose of the survey was to discover the worldview and religious orientation of students. The survey results showed that only 10% of students were 'active believers' of any sort of religion. A surprising 60% were identified as non-believers, 17% as passive believers, and 14% as seasonal believers. The findings show that students are not flocking to organised religion, a discovery that was supported in the research findings of this dissertation.

Pluralism[633]

Building on the descriptions in Chapter 4 of the attitudes of the students that participated in the research toward various traditional and non-traditional religious groups, the discussion in this section examines whether there is evidence of the development of post-Soviet religious pluralism.

Initially, this research operated under the assumption that Ukraine was a religiously pluralist society, since the research encountered students with a variety of beliefs, ranging from committed Orthodox, to Baptists, to Ukrainian Jews, to Greek Catholics, to Catholics, to atheists, to sympathy with Islam and Buddhism. However, on several occasions when students talked what was most important to them, the conversation turned

---

[630] Ibid. p. 282.
[631] Ibid. p. 285.
[632] Vera Kovalyova, Olga Goncharenko, and Orest Biloskursky Spring 2002 'Indifferent Elite or Hope of Society?' *REALIS*: 21-22.
[633] The main elements of this section were originally presented in a paper entitled, "Creating Spirituality: Kievan students' use of the visual in their search for the sacred" at an international conference called 'Challenges of Religious Plurality in Eastern and Central Europe', held 11-14 December 2003 in Lviv, Ukraine, organised by the International Study of Religion in Eastern and Central Europe Association.

from personal feelings about meaning in life to an attempt to convert everyone listening to their perspective. This was particularly evident after a meeting with a student who loved Hip Hop and had spent the afternoon talking about how all people should find meaning in progressive culture.[634] It was as though he was proselytising Hip Hop. On another occasion, the student mentioned in the previous chapter who was a fan of Russian rock music said that the texts of the music had been a powerful vehicle to express anger and rebellion against the Soviet system. It became clear that her belief system was built on the ideology expressed by these Russian performers, as well as Jim Morrison and others. She expressed a measure of disdain not only for other styles of music, but also for other ideologies. She was keen that everyone should begin to listen to the music and read the lyrics. Conversations with other students tended to shift from talking about their worldview to attempting to convince others that their worldview and loyalties were exclusively true. This was fascinating. But was it pluralist?

Defining Pluralism

Before we proceed with this discussion, it is necessary to offer a clarification of what is meant by 'pluralism'. First, as discovered in Ukraine, a plural society consisting of people of various ethnic origins and faiths is not necessarily a pluralist society. Plurality is a fact, while pluralism is a way of thinking about the multiplicity of beliefs. Ukraine is undoubtedly a plural society, consisting of Orthodox, Catholics, Muslims, atheists, Protestants, Jews and various other groups, including new and Eastern religions.

The root of pluralism comes out of Enlightenment thinking and the drive for human autonomy.[635] Alasdair MacIntyre describes how Enlightenment thinkers sought to establish a rational justification for social justice, hoping that this rationality would replace authority and tradition. Although the Enlightenment established the ideal of rational justification it was unable to provide a rationality acceptable to all.[636] Hence people's convictions remained independent from others' and pluralism was a natural development in order for society to continue to function. In *Whose Justice? Which Rationality?* MacIntyre analyses the historical problems of moral inquiry, specifically in classical Greece, 12th century Europe and Enlightenment Scotland. He takes a

---

[634] As mentioned in Chapter 4, in an email he said that many people should live for Hip Hop and 'progressive culture.'

[635] For example, in Kant's 1784 essay "What is Enlightenment?" he explains that reason enables humans to become mature masters of themselves, and therefore to attain true human freedom. See Immanuel Kant 1983 'What is Enlightenment?' in Humphrey (ed) *Perpetual Peace and Other Essays*, Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Comany, pp. 41-48.

[636] Alasdair MacIntyre 1988 *Whose Justice? Which Rationality?* Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press. p. 6.

communitarian view, arguing that society needs people to be committed to the good of the entire community. Although it is not possible within the confines of this dissertation to give a full discussion of MacIntyre's analysis of how rational justification should be located within a tradition of enquiry, here it suffices to say that there is a debate among theologians, sociologists and philosophers about the on-going nature of pluralism and how society can reach a moral consensus.

For example, David Fergusson traces how political liberalism appeared in Europe in the middle of the 17th century, based on the realization that in order for people to live together in society they needed to work together regardless of religious affiliation. "Debilitated by war, both international and civil, a growing number of citizens recognized that neither force nor reason would produce religious uniformity. The only alternative to further bloodshed was to organise a polity on principles that could be affirmed by different faith communities."[637] He explains that liberalism is characterised by a commitment to the equality of all people, the freedom of the individual to pursue his or her own life choices as long as they do not interfere with another's freedom, and the non-interference of the state in the religious affiliation of its citizens. Fergusson argues that contemporary liberalism has failed to provide a universal ideal to govern societies that are fragmenting in the globalised social context and people no longer rely on the church for their moral principles. Without a framework drawn from religion or a political credo, individuals in society are left without a moral basis. "The practical orientation that this prescribes is one whereby the church should seek to maintain its homogeneity as a moral community while acknowledging its stake in the peaceful maintenance of a pluralist society."[638] He seeks to defend communitarianism, while maintaining a commitment to the core principles of liberalism, because the ideals that govern social life depend upon society's assumptions about human nature.

It is worth noting that there are various types of pluralism – structural, cultural, and religious. The primary concern in this dissertation is religious pluralism, although particularly in Ukraine these various types of pluralism are interwoven. In *The Gospel in a Pluralist Society*, Lesslie Newbigin distinguishes between cultural and religious pluralism. For him, cultural pluralism is "the attitude which welcomes the variety of different cultures and life-styles within one society and believes that this is an enrichment

---

[637] David Fergusson 2004 *Church, State and Civil Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p. 48.
[638] David Fergusson 1998 *Community, Liberalism and Christian Ethics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p. 172.

of human life." For Newbigin, religious pluralism is "the belief that the differences between the religions are not a matter of truth and falsehood, but of different perceptions of the one truth...religious belief is a private matter."[639] The understanding of religious pluralism in this dissertation departs from Newbigin's assumptions, because he equates religious pluralism with religious relativism. It is argued here that it is possible to be a religious pluralist - to respect that all people have spiritual needs and fill these needs through various beliefs and religious practices - in the same way that he describes cultural pluralism. Therefore, a religious pluralist can accept and appreciate religious diversity, without going as far as religious relativism to believing that all religions and worldviews are equally true.

This understanding of religious pluralism is different from Michael Walzer's notion of societal toleration whereby he calls for individuals to have attitudes of acceptance, curiosity and respect for those from groups different to their own.[640] Religious pluralism does not go so far as to encourage and promote diversity, as Walzer believes toleration in its ideal form should do. Furthermore, religious pluralism is an attitude of people within a society, and toleration is a social practice whereby people incorporate difference, coexist with it, and allow it a share of social space.[641] Yet his argument for the virtues of toleration, which makes possible "the peaceful coexistence of groups of people with different histories, cultures, and identities"[642] resonates with importance of religious pluralism, which encourages a respect for the fact that people from other groups will express their spirituality through their own religious practices. Walzer notes that a drive toward unity can hinder toleration, using as an example the 'Russification' of the 19th century, a danger it is argued here is possible in extreme forms of nationalism and Orthodoxy evidenced at times in contemporary Ukraine.[643]

It is also important to note that negative attitudes toward religious pluralism came out of Christian thinking in the United States and Britain, where the established church saw pluralism as a threat. Additionally, in many Western countries, religious pluralism is a separate issue from political pluralism. But religion and politics are closely tied in Ukraine and many other Eastern European countries. In North America and Western Europe most people recognise that in order for a democratic society to function, each

---

[639] Lesslie Newbigin 1989 *The Gospel in a Pluralist Society*. London: SPCK. p. 14.
[640] Michael Walzer 1997 *On Toleration*. London: Yale University Press. p. 11.
[641] Ibid. p. 12.
[642] Ibid. p. 2.
[643] Ibid. p. 83.

individual must tolerate other people's worldviews. Thus, a healthy political pluralism is one of give and take – with individuals working together to make society work, each from their own diverse perspectives. This is clear from a political perspective, but here it is argued that it is equally true for religious freedom. Countries like Ukraine need religious pluralism in order for religious freedom to become a value within society.

Furthermore, it is important to point out that pluralism is a Western concept and thus there are assumptions behind the use of this word. Moody and Gubin, writing about the future of political pluralism in the CIS, explain that both in the USA and Britain, scholars usually describe pluralism as the "interplay of multiple overlapping groups which ensure that no single group dominates and all have a fair hearing."[644] But they emphatically state: "transporting this concept directly onto (post) Soviet culture will likely reveal inadequacies."[645] They explain that as an ideology and a way of life pluralism had never been a value in the former Soviet Union. Beginning with Stalin, the Communist Party regarded pluralism as disloyalty and a threat to the system. Moody and Gubin argue that even Gorbachev's *perestroika* was "well within the confines of socialism – a strict adherence to Marxism-Leninism" and his emphasis was on "ideological revitalisation rather than organizational pluralism."[646]

Right Belief

If we define religious pluralism as the tolerance of a diversity of religious beliefs, then it can be said that the research findings revealed that Ukraine is not yet religiously pluralist. On the other hand, a small number of students did express opinions that could be labelled 'pluralist'. For example, one nineteen year-old student at the National Linguistic Institute said she felt that other people often tried to influence her according to their own interests and religious practices. She spoke about a girl who was a very religious Orthodox believer, and described how this student had separated herself from the others so much that she could not even carry on a conversation with her fellow students. She said that she has realised that it is important that young people have freedom to choose their beliefs, instead of feeling pressurised to take on a particular religion.[647] In fact, only this student and three others had beliefs that could be described as 'pluralist.' The majority of the

---

[644] Adam Moody and Oleg Gubin 1992 'Paths to permanent Pluralism in the C.I.S.' *Journal of Undergraduate Research, University of Utah* 3(1): 11-17.
[645] Ibid.
[646] Ibid.
[647] From interview 19-F-NL-100602.

other students were committed to their beliefs at the exclusion of others, and generally regarded other worldviews with disdain.

The findings also indicated that the social and religious spheres overlapped in Ukraine. Youth subcultures divided young people not only by musical tastes, but also by religious affiliations. Adopting a set of religious or ideological beliefs, and being committed to them, involved taking on the entire worldview of the group and gaining a new set of friends. Thus, for one student, becoming a 'Free Zen Buddhist' meant adopting new social as well as religious beliefs. For another, joining a Baptist church meant new friends but also new lifestyle restrictions – no rock music, no dancing, no make-up, etc. As mentioned above, for another student, becoming a fan of Hip Hop meant a wardrobe change, a lifestyle make over and also meant a new political party. Another student said that his commitment to Russian Rock music also entailed a commitment to a set of values as well as a particular dress sense. Finally, the most poignant example of the boundaries between subcultures was a conversation with a student who was formerly a Skinhead, but had recently become a dedicated Orthodox believer. The dramatic differences between the values of these two ideologies seemed to make a conversion unlikely. But, research into Skinhead ideology revealed that the core Skinhead belief – "we are right and everyone else is wrong" – is also a central tenant of the Orthodox Church. It could be argued that the Orthodox sense of 'right belief' flows into other parts of society, and perhaps has done over the last century. In general, the findings showed that most of the students were committed to their 'right belief' at the exclusion of all others.

Frederick Barnard, originally a native of Czechoslovakia, returned to his country after twenty years and wrote about the difficulty of building pluralism there in order to legitimise a democratic government. He wrote specifically about political pluralism, but his observations about the tension between unity and diversity can give us insight into the challenges of religious pluralism as well. He argued that political pluralists could not afford "to ignore the fact that, if a civic order is to prevail for a society as a whole, diversity cannot and must not totally obliterate a sense of unity. For if it did, the outcome would be fragmentation and not pluralism."[648] It appears that this is precisely what has occurred in Ukraine in the social and religious spheres. Instead of a pluralism that calls for a unity that flows out of diversity, the country is fragmented into religious and social

---

[648] Frederick M. Barnard 1991 *Pluralism, Socialism, and Political Legitimacy: Reflections on Opening Up Communism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p. 3.

groups. Hip hop fans are opposed to Baptists who are opposed to rock music fans who are opposed to dedicated Orthodox believers and so on.

Fragmentation

Societal fragmentation is a phenomenon whereby people withdraw into small groups for security in response to overwhelming exposure to ideas from all over the globe[649] and the isolating nature of life in a technologically dominated society.[650] Professor of Sociology at Nottingham Trent University Mike Featherstone observes that instead of causing humanity to recognise all that it has in common, globalisation has caused people to realise how different they are. "The difficulty of handling increasing levels of cultural complexity, and the doubts and anxieties these often engender, are reasons why 'localism', or the desire to remain in a bounded locality or return to some sort of 'home', becomes an important theme."[651]

Gene Veith, professor at Concordia University in Wisconsin and author of several books on contemporary culture, takes Featherstone's notion of localisation one step further and applies it to segments within a local culture. He writes that society is fragmenting "into contending and mutually unintelligible cultures and subcultures. Even within a single society, people are segmenting into self-contained communities and contending interest groups."[652] Veith argues that a feeling of 'rootlessness' causes people to seek another kind of community in a network of close personal friendships. "At the very time that the mass culture and global economy are uniting the world . . . we are seeing the retribalization of the world."[653] French sociologist Michel Maffesoli calls the phenomenon of young people spontaneously and temporarily coming together and forming a small community for emotional solidarity 'affective tribes'.[654] Maffesoli's tribes can be fashion victims and youth subcultures, but also includes hobbyists, sports enthusiasts, and so on. Furthermore, he observes that the tribes do not offer the stability of belonging to a gang, a family or a community, instead they are "characterised by fluidity, occasional gatherings and dispersal."[655] Sociologists Mellor and Shilling recognise that although this neo-tribalism may have some positive aspects, the movement can also take

---

[649] See Peter Beyer 1994 *Religion and Globalization*. London: Sage.
[650] See John Naisbitt 1982 *Megatrends: Ten New Directions Transforming Our Lives*. New York: Warner Books.
[651] Mike Featherstone 1995 *Undoing Culture: Globalization, Postmodernism, and Identity*. London: Sage. p. 103.
[652] Gene Edward Veith 1994 *Guide to Contemporary Culture*. Leicester: Crossway Books. p. 144.
[653] Ibid. p. 154.
[654] Michel Maffesoli 1996 *The Time of the Tribes*. London: Sage. p. 89.
[655] Ibid. p. 76.

dangerous forms. "The emotions that emerge from social relationships and solidarities may enable people to 'keep warm together' in a world which too often appears out of control and morally bankrupt, but they can also prompt a passionate intensity, hatred and 'bloody revenge.'"[656]

The fragmentation and 'tribalization' observed by North American and European sociologists is also evident in Ukraine. Caused by the same phenomenon of globalisation, but heightened in Ukraine by the sudden loss of the Soviet worldview, society has fragmented into subcultures, kept isolated by the pervading sense of 'right belief'.

Slow Development of Religious Pluralism

Despite the multiplicity of groups and subcultures, pluralism has been slow to develop as an ideology in Ukraine. The primary reason is that Enlightenment thinking did not affect the Slavic world in the same way as in the West.[657] Authority for truth remained in the hands of wealthy landowners and the tsar. Later, this authority structure was destroyed by the Soviets and replaced by the authority of the Communist Party. Now that this authority has been stripped away, people are searching for a new authority for truth. The cultures of Western Europe and North America have not provided an answer to the truth question – except the authority of buy and sell, and the necessity to consume, acquire, and accumulate wealth. The 'what is truth' crisis of post-modern society in Europe and North America stems from the Enlightenment's inability to provide the all inclusive rationality that it promised. Ukraine now faces a similar crisis of truth and authority, but for different reasons and most likely with different outcomes.

Pluralism rests on the belief that people are individuals and are the authority for their own worldview. It is evident that the notion of the individual is still foreign among older generations in Ukraine, although growing and taking shape among the youth. The social networks within society offer a certain stability and accountability in Ukraine, and will not quickly be abandoned. Furthermore, in Ukraine, people still tend to locate authority outside themselves, relying on experts, leaders, pop stars and others. The practice of democracy is still being learned in the political sphere of Ukraine, and is almost non-existent among the religious groups. Church leaders, within Orthodoxy, Greek-Catholicism, Catholicism, the Baptist Union and Pentecostal churches, all tend to be the

---

[656] Philip Mellor and Chris Shilling 1997 *Re-Forming the Body*. London: Sage. p. 201. Their studies showed how patterns of human communities are related to bodily experiences of the sacred.
[657] Thomas Oden 1992 *Two Worlds: Notes on the Death of Modernity in America and Russia*. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press. p. 51.

authority figures for their congregation or parish. Leadership is top down; the hierarchy make the decisions. For the younger generation, the research data showed that the ideology of a pop star becomes the locus of truth for his or her fans.

This issue of authority structures leads to the second reason why pluralism is not yet a major ideology in Ukraine. The remnants of Soviet ideology cause people to be sceptical about religious pluralism. Soviet atheism caused religious feelings to be buried and as the interview data revealed, it is still a common belief that religious expressions belong in the heart, and are not appropriate for the public sphere. Thus, Christianity was eliminated as a serious public intellectual option.[658] Alexander Solzhenitsyn argued that the freedom of the Soviet government to commit immoral acts was based on the notion that the Communist Party should not only install a new social order, but also its own religious ethic.[659] Leonid Kuchma, the former President of Ukraine, in an address given before the Pope and other dignitaries in June 2001, pointed out the difficulty of building religious pluralism after seventy years of Soviet atheism:

> "Presently we are building a state founded on democracy, freedom, market economy, pluralism of ideas, beliefs and religion, a state where priority is given to a human, his/her life, inalienable rights and freedoms. It is very difficult to do it on the ruins of the totalitarian system, in a society where during seventy years the ideas of warlike atheism were spread and where tearing away from God, faith and religion was cultivated."[660]

In that same speech given during the Pope's historic and controversial visit to Ukraine, Kuchma tried to assure John Paul II that the Ukrainian government was seeking to establish religious freedom and pluralism, but concluded by speaking about how Ukraine has always been Orthodox. President Kuchma's speech encapsulates the tensions between religious identity and religious pluralism, coming in the midst of his explanation of how Ukraine is working towards human freedom and religious liberty.

This brings us to the final reason for the underdeveloped situation of religious pluralism in Ukraine: the close and at times indistinguishable relationship between national identity and religious affiliation. In the nineteenth century, France could be said to be a 'Catholic country' and the United States a 'Protestant nation', but by the end of the twentieth century these designations became meaningless. Religious identity is no longer a

---

[658] Alister McGrath has a pessimistic discussion of the implications of this in his book, Alister E. McGrath 2002 *The Future of Christianity*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd. p. 17.
[659] Ibid. p. 17.
[660] Address by the President of Ukraine, Leonid Kuchma, at the meeting of the Head of State of the Vatican, Pope John Paul II, with Ukrainian political leaders in Kiev at the Maryinsky Palace on 23 June 2001. http://web.ttnet.net.tr/users/ukremb/press_release/13.htm (viewed on 5/11/03).

legitimation for nationhood in North America and many European countries, due in part to secularism and the management of diversity. But in Ukraine, understanding of the continuing importance of religion in forming national identity cannot be emphasised enough.

Agadjanian explains that it is difficult to discern religious identity from national identity in a traditionally Orthodox, post-Soviet state.[661] He writes that although the Russian Empire experienced a secular current at the beginning of the twentieth century, the Bolshevik regime sought to embody the sense of 'Holy Russia' and suppress diversity through their own set of doctrines. Hence, with the fall of the Berlin Wall and the ensuing crisis caused by the collapse of the Soviet Union, a new identity was necessary for the former Soviet nations in the 1990s.

> "In these circumstances, as in all systemic crises, religion provided an effective symbolic capital for the construction of new *formulas of identity*, including that of a 'collective national identity', which various elites claimed to express in ideological constructions. Religion, mainly in the form of Eastern Orthodoxy as the dominant, traditional form of Russian religion, proved a potential resource, previously underestimated, for the restoration of the historical continuity interrupted by Communism."[662]

According to Agadjanian, the notion of the country as an Orthodox nation is strengthened by three factors: the state needs legitimation, the Orthodox Church seeks to be pre-eminent and the people desire a social and cultural identity. Thus, he argues, in the post-Soviet crisis of identity the line between religious and national identity has become blurred.

The Orthodox Church encourages this Orthodox national identity and opposes religious pluralism. Myroslav Marynovych, Director of the Institute of Religion and Society at the Ukrainian Catholic University, in an article in *The Ukrainian Weekly*, explains that the traditional churches are not theologically prepared for religious tolerance, because they see their primary aim as the preservation of religious tradition.[663] On the other hand, the traditional churches must not bear the entire blame for their animosity toward religious diversity. Marynovych points out that their isolationism is due in part to a logic of protection, partly sparked by the influx of Western missionaries after the collapse of the Soviet Union who looked upon 'post-communist space as a blank page fated to be filled

---

[661] Alexander Agadjanian 2000 'Religious Pluralism and National Identity in Russia', *International Journal of Multicultural Societies* 2(2): 97-124.
[662] Emphasis the author's. Ibid.
[663] Myroslav Marynovych 2002 'Religious Freedom in Ukraine: Obstacles and Encouraging Signs', *Ukrainian Weekly* LXX(22). http://www.ukrweekly.com/Archive/2002/220225.shtml (viewed 16/4/2004).

by Western churches.'[664] He also observes that even when Western missionaries recognised the existence of traditional churches, they still treated the situation as an 'uncontrolled free market of religions' and neglected to understand that the existing religious structures existed primarily for the protection of religious traditions and hence were the keepers of religious and national identity.[665] The traditional churches responded by seeking laws that would protect their status as the national faith. Therefore, if religious leaders perceive the church's main role as the preservation of national religious identity, then it is not difficult to see why supporting pluralism and the tolerance of diversity would not be a high priority for church leaders. Nevertheless, Marynovych argues that both Eastern traditional religious groups and Western religious groups need to work together toward a balanced religious pluralism that does not dispense with religious identity. "In a society which is properly balanced, religious freedom is a precondition for the free exercise of its identity, and respectively, confidence in one's identity makes freedom an indispensable attribute of religious life."[666]

Finding Religious Diversity within Orthodox National Identity

Essentially, we have seen that in Ukraine there is a conflict between the generations over identity. The traditional church leaders, mostly from the older generation, believe that young people should be Orthodox because they are Ukrainian. But the young people interviewed wanted more than this for their spiritual lives. They wanted to find God in a way that made sense to them, or to experience the spiritual world in manner that was relevant and accessible and that did not ask them to give up the few fragments of identity that they already had. The findings showed that the majority of students interviewed were not interested in the traditional churches. It is impossible to predict the future of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine, but most likely it will always remain a part of Ukrainian culture, if only as a cultural symbol. Agajanian writes along these lines regarding Russian culture: "Orthodoxy in pre-revolutionary Russia was a religious reality permeating the whole of society, while Orthodoxy in present-day Russia is only a reality within the religious field and is essentially a kind of a cultural symbol, used as an important ideological construct."[667] He concludes that the Orthodox Church's 'real impact' on political culture and social life is negligible.

---

[664] Ibid.
[665] Ibid.
[666] Ibid.
[667] Agadjanian 'Religious Pluralism and National Identity in Russia'.

The research findings concurred with Agadjanian's analysis and it is argued here that in Ukraine, religious pluralism would have to be attained within a symbolic Orthodox national identity. This type of thinking was already evident among some of the students interviewed. For example, a student claimed to be a 'real Orthodox believer', but said that the Koran was more relevant to her life than the Bible. This religious pluralism within an Orthodox national identity may be possible when we take into account Newbigin's distinction between values and facts. He argues that pluralism is accepted as universally true in the West, where people can safely have a plurality of beliefs and tolerate each other's beliefs when they relate to values. On the other hand, facts are facts, capable of being proven true or false. He believes that the Church has been classified in Western society as a value and not a fact.[668] By contrast, in Ukraine, Orthodoxy as a national identity and the Orthodox Church as an institution are facts in Ukraine. But if the search for spirituality was treated instead as a value, it might be possible to develop a religious pluralism that embraces diversity but reaches a social consensus, within an Orthodox national identity. However, if a young person's spirituality and membership in a subculture continue to be viewed as a fact, the only outcome is the present course of increasing fragmentation.

Subjectivized Religion

The results showed that most of the students interviewed did not regularly attend church services, yet considered themselves to be 'believers', based on their own ideas about God, ultimate meaning and transcendence. Eight of the students interviewed made statements along these lines, stating that religion should be part of a person's inner reality or that their belief in God came from within themselves. The clearest example of this was the student who created her own symbol based on Zodiac star signs and Chinese philosophy and when probed about this image, revealed that her authority for knowledge about God was located within her own beliefs about transcendence. We have seen that these belief systems developed by young people were considered to be 'right beliefs', that is, worldviews perceived to be exclusively true. This section explores 'subjectivized religion', by which is meant a belief system that is developed on a personal level, outside established religious organisations. Although many would assume that modernist reliance on reason is responsible for the decline of church attendance and ensuing secularisation,

---

[668] Newbigin *The Gospel in a Pluralist Society*. p. 7.

sociologists of religion are increasingly convinced that this trend is more likely due to people internalising their religious and spiritual beliefs.

Thomas Luckmann charts the rise of what he calls the 'autonomous individual' within Western modern society and argues that this phenomenon is linked to secularization.[669] According to Luckmann, secularization was a "process in which autonomous institutional ideologies replaced, within their own domain, an overarching and transcendent universe of norms."[670] These institutional ideologies, such as Communism, failed to provide a system of ultimate meaning. Thus, Luckmann believes that people have developed the ability to detach themselves from their immediate experience, allowing for the 'individuation of consciousness that permits the construction of interpretive schemes, ultimately, of systems of meaning'.[671] He regards this 'transcendence of biological nature' as a religious phenomenon, which rests on the relationship of self and society. This creates an 'invisible' religion because this search for meaning occurs privately within the individual and not through church attendance. "It is a radically subjective form of religiosity that is characterized by a weakly coherent and non obligatory sacred cosmos and by a low degree of transcendence in comparison to traditional modes of religion."[672] Luckmann's observations that the social form of religion in the Western world is no longer determined by institutional, official religion, or by secular, public institutions but is confined to the private sphere could be indicative of the changing situation in Ukraine.

Charles Taylor comes to this phenomenon from the perspective of moral philosophy, and writes about what he calls the 'subjective turn' within modern culture. This is a turn away from life lived in terms of external roles, duties and obligations, and a turn towards life lived by reference to one's own subjective experiences. Thus, people no longer think of themselves as belonging to an order that is larger and higher than themselves but become their own authority.[673] He explains that before modernity, most societies had some sort of framework that defined how a life should be lived and what made life fulfilling. But now in the West the legitimacy of these frameworks is doubted, leaving each person the burden of deciding for themselves what makes life meaningful and how life ought to be lived. Thus, people are left with a spiritual quest, a search for the meaning of their

---

[669] Thomas Luckmann 1967 *The Invisible Religion: The Problem of Religion in Modern Society*. London: Macmillan. p. 12.
[670] Ibid. p. 101
[671] Ibid. p. 48.
[672] Ibid. p. 117.
[673] Charles Taylor 1989 *Sources of the Self*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

existence.[674] Taylor writes, "The problem of the meaning of life is therefore on our agenda, however much we may jibe at this phrase, either in the form of a threatened loss of meaning or because making sense of our life is the object of a quest. And those whose spiritual agenda is mainly defined in this way are in a fundamentally different existential predicament from that which dominated most previous cultures and still defines the lives of other people today."[675] The last fifteen years in the former Soviet Union has seen the crumbling of the Communist 'framework', thus, it is possible that this research uncovered the beginnings of the 'subjective turn' in Ukraine.

Building on Taylor's notion of the subjective turn, Paul Heelas and Linda Woodhead develop what they call the 'subjectivization thesis'.[676] Essentially, they believe that the modern subjective turn causes people to be more likely to be drawn to personalised forms of spirituality because they aim to nurture the inner life, and the subjective self is their main authority. Heelas and Woodhead argue that this thesis also accounts for the decline of people's involvement in traditional forms of religion.[677] They do not suggest that all of Western culture has been affected by subjectivization, but that the subjective turn is becoming increasingly evident and influential within much of Western society. Heelas and Woodhead attribute subjectivization as a major cause of secularisation: "In a nutshell, our argument is that churches and chapels have suffered because many people are simply no longer willing to submit to the roles, duties, rituals, traditions, offices and expectations which these institutions impose."[678] Their empirical studies revealed that in England traditional religious institutions that promote an authority outside the self are in decline, while groups are growing that encourage subjective forms of spirituality such as reiki, tai chi, yoga and others which they refer to collectively as 'holistic activities'. They believe that both this growth and decline can be explained through their subjectivization thesis.[679]

Chapter 4 of this dissertation described how the bookstall survey revealed an interest in esoteric spirituality across age groups. Yet, for the most part, students were cautious of non-traditional religious groups and new religions, wary of being pressurised to join a cult. Six students mentioned Buddhist sayings or talked about Buddhist ideas, but in all cases this fascination involved the adoption of exotic ideas into a host of other vague

---

[674] Ibid. p. 17.
[675] Ibid. p. 18.
[676] Paul Heelas and Linda Woodhead 2005 *The Spiritual Revolution: Why Religion is giving way to Spirituality*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
[677] Ibid. p. 78.
[678] Ibid. p. 112.
[679] Ibid. p. 10.

religious and spiritual concepts and not a full-fledged practice of Buddhism. This eclectic method of forming a belief system is what Anglican Bishop Graham Cray would refer to as a 'pick and mix culture'. He has observed a trend in Western society that allows a person to detach the component parts of beliefs from their original context, which makes it possible for him or her to hold contradictory beliefs.[680] A person is then able to draw on a variety of attractive beliefs and mix them together to form their own personalised belief system.

Kolodniy believes that the religious situation is changing in Ukraine, theorising that this is caused by individualism, which, he would argue, increasingly appears to characterise the worldview of the younger generation.[681] He writes of what he calls a 'religious revival' in Ukraine that exists outside traditional Christianity:

> "Contemporary religious thought is not leaning towards any one Christian church, but instead seeks to create (and perhaps on the basis of Christianity) a new religion. This new religion does not lose its specific religious traits and, at the same time, strives to harmonize with the worldview that proceeds from the entire content of contemporary culture."[682]

According to Kolodniy, this spirituality, what he terms a 'new religion', is highly subjective and operates entirely outside of traditional religious forms.

> "An individual in our time achieves faith in the divine nature of her own being which is a created soul that is a part of God. Thus she sees salvation in her own hands, in the divine and spiritual properties of her own self. For this kind of believer, Jesus Christ stands less as a 'Saviour' or a mediator with God but foremost as a moral paragon on the path to becoming one with Him."[683]

According to Agadjanian, as people in post-Soviet society develop an individualized approach to spirituality and the pursuit of answers to life's ultimate questions, religion becomes a matter of preference. The social, political and religious situation is characterised by a complex mixture due to the simultaneous influx of modern and post-modern thinking. For Agadjanian, the outcome is "on the one hand, a new wave of rapid modernization, with an erosion of traditional forms partly deep-frozen by the Soviet system, the growing new social differentiation, the explosion of individualism; the appropriation, by a limited but leading segment of society, of most recent technological

---

[680] Graham Cray (1992) *From Here to Where? – The Culture of the Nineties*. Board of Mission of the Church of England Occassional Paper, number 3.
http://members.tripod.com/~nineoclockservice/craydoc.htm (viewed on 1/12/2004).
[681] Kolodniy 'Traditional Faiths in Ukraine and Missionary Activity'.
[682] Ibid.
[683] Ibid.

and institutional innovations imported from the open global space; but, simultaneously, on the other hand, the revived need for traditional grand narratives as sources of identity."[684]

However, 'subjectivization' and individualism only partly explain the prevalence of privatised religious belief among the Ukrainian students. We saw in the previous chapter that this privatised belief is not leading students to relativistic opinions about faith and belief. It was argued above that without the same influence of the Enlightenment in Ukraine as there was in the West, individualism is only now developing in Ukraine. Hence, many people are still at the early stages of developing individualistic tendencies. It is also possible that the reduction of the Orthodox Church to a symbolic entity without substantial impact on people's daily lives is partly responsible for the privatisation of religious belief.[685] In Ukraine, during the seventy years of the Soviet Union, the influence of the church was limited, and people needed to publicly support the government and the Communist Party. In order to survive, their personal religious views needed to remain private. This practice of publicly stating the cultural norm while privately exploring a variety of beliefs explains the tendency for Ukrainians to classify themselves as Orthodox, the accepted norm for a Ukrainian, while very few regularly attend church services.[686]

Danièle Hervieu-Léger's description of the current state of religiosity in contemporary Western Europe in terms of religious memory could also explain in part the privatized or subjective turn of religion in Ukraine.[687] She argues that a chain of memory is formed by individual believers as they exist in a community which consists of past, present and future members and continues to exist based on the group's collective memory (or tradition). "The symbolic integration of time takes on other forms in different traditions (in Eastern religions, for instance), but all of them have at their base the essentially normative character of religious memory."[688] According to her, modern society is increasingly less religious because people are no longer able to maintain the memory that

---

[684] Agadjanian and Rousselet 'Globalization and Identity Discourse in Russian Orthodoxy'.
[685] David Herbert notes that in many modern social situations, there is a division between civil society and religion. He observes that although individuals may have an active faith, this may have no affect on civil society, conversely, people may not practice the religion they identify with at all, yet this religious identity may have huge political power. Arguably, the latter appears to be true in Ukraine. See David Herbert 2003 *Religion and Civil Society*. Aldershot: Ashgate. p. 6.
[686] See "Ukrainian Society-1997: An Opinion Poll on the Attitudes and Living Conditions of the Ukrainian Population." http://qsilver.queensu.ca/~csd/ukarchive/index.html (viewed on 25 April 2004).
[687] Danièle Hervieu-Léger 2000 *Religion as a Chain of Memory*, Translated by Lee. Cambridge: Polity Press.
[688] Ibid. p. 124.

sustains the religion. She argues that within modern society change has become far more valued than memory, leading to a 'disintegration of collective memory in modern societies.'[689] Hervieu-Léger explains that within contemporary society it is perceived that continuity between past and present is no longer necessary and it is "modernity that devalues the forms in which such continuity is supposed to impress itself upon individuals and groups, but that also gives rise – though in new forms – to a social and individual need to have recourse to the security of such continuity."[690] Her notion of a chain of memory is informative to post-Soviet society where seventy years of state-enforced atheism was long enough to damage the chain of memory of Orthodox faith. Hervieu-Léger writes, "The uncertainties brought about by the removal of this presence (collective memories) together with the impact of accelerated change cause the demand for meaning on the part of society to proliferate in all directions."[691] Indeed, this research found that most of the Ukrainian students who participated in the research could be classified as seekers, those actively engaged in a search for meaning.

This generation may bring about radical change in the nature of religiosity in Ukraine. Wade Clark Roof believes that a generation has the possibility of impacting religion within a society, through adapting interpretations of historic religious beliefs and symbols and even people's understanding of the sacred itself.[692] Writing specifically about the 'Baby Boomer' generation in the United States, he explains that popular religious communities are being reshaped due to the generations that have come after the Second World War and the growth of a diverse 'spiritual marketplace'. He argues that the Baby Boomer generation is the main carrier of what he calls this 'emerging spiritual quest culture'.[693] According to Roof, this generation in particular lost its confidence in the ability of the government and religious institutions to carry out the development of human progress. Additionally, similar to Hervieu-Léger's analysis of religiosity in Western Europe, he notes that this generation of Americans has lost touch with religious traditions. He argues that this distance from the memory of tradition causes the self to become elevated to the level of making spiritual meaning and forming religious worldviews.[694] Roof's analysis of the impact of one generation's disillusionment with traditional religion and government institutions is not unlike the younger generation in Ukraine. This,

---

[689] Ibid. p. 128.
[690] Ibid. p. 4.
[691] Ibid. p. 141.
[692] Wade Clark Roof 1999 *Spiritual Marketplace*. Oxford: Princeton University Press. p. 3.
[693] Ibid. p. 49.
[694] Ibid. p. 42.

combined with a tangible gap in religious memory would, according to Roof and Hervieu-Léger, cause this group to need to search for personal meaning unlike previous generations.[695]

In summary, students are creating their own belief systems and expressing their spirituality in new ways, including placing their own types of 'icons' on their walls. These expressions of spirituality tend to occur outside traditional expressions of religious belief, yet exist beneath a national identity and self-understanding within these traditional religious institutions. According to the research findings, instead of the development of a balanced religious pluralism in Ukraine, the data revealed a fragmentation of beliefs that separated young people into different youth subcultures. Yet the variety of beliefs and multiplicity of quests for spirituality among the students indicated a hunger for meaning and transcendence. These spiritual quests were private, personal pursuits of meaning, divorced from Orthodoxy and growing out of subjective interpretations of experiences. Thus, the spiritual climate of the younger generation in Ukraine is characterised by an eclectic spirituality, manifested as the innate urge to experience transcendence.

---

[695] See Hervieu-Léger *Religion as a Chain of Memory*. p. 141 and Roof *Spiritual Marketplace*. p. 35.

Conclusion

This dissertation used qualitative methods to investigate contemporary spirituality among a group of twenty young people in Kiev, Ukraine. The thesis is based on a practical. empirical approach and used a 'telling case' to draw out the connection between the visual and spiritual.[696] Thus, researching invisible spirituality became possible when twined with an investigation of the use of the visible. This approach gave access to connections that have not previously been made and relied on the in depth, 'telling' nature of the case to discern the connection between the spiritual and visual. Although this thesis sought out a telling case instead of a typical case, that is not to say that the results are not typical and bear no relationship to the social situation.

While it is possible to speak in abstract terms of the iconic nature of pop stars such as Madonna, the case study tested this idea practically to see to what extent images of pop stars and other posters in students' living space might have a spiritual function. This unique visual ethnographic approach uncovered how young people are developing their own spirituality in a post Soviet society that is subject to a shifting influx of foreign images and the free market of beliefs. The grounds for the premise that Ukrainian culture is deeply visual in a way that is untypical of Western Europe was made clear by tracing the visual and religious history of Ukraine. The contemporary spiritual use of images was set against a backdrop of Eastern Orthodox iconography and Soviet artistic realism. It was demonstrated that Ukrainian culture, similar to Indian culture, relates to the spiritual realm through images. Since Ukrainian culture is image driven, it was possible to tap into this phenomenon and develop an empirical model using images alongside text.

The research findings revealed that participants displayed images on their wall to express their identity. Many used them to express their spirituality in terms of institutional religion and/or a search for meaning, community affiliation, security and transcendence. When traditional religious forms did not satisfy students, they invented their own religious beliefs with accompanying images. Although, like much of Eastern Europe, national identity and religiosity have been closely related in Ukraine, many young people have been cut adrift from their religious traditions and are seeking to regain a sense of identity, and in some cases, transcendence, through their own spiritual quests. A typology drawn from the data itself showed that students had a range of levels of interest in

---

[696] The distinctive advantage of using a 'telling case' was explained in Chapter 2, p. 37.

spirituality, with the largest number categorised as seekers (45%). The findings indicated an urgent search for a satisfying spirituality in the midst of a fragmented landscape of subcultures frequently expressed through non-traditional religious forms.

In the previous chapter, the discussion focused on the spiritual situation of young people in Ukraine, analysing why students are not searching for answers to their spiritual questions within organised religion. It became evident that the Orthodox sense of 'right belief' flows into other parts of society, causing a lack of tolerance for other people's beliefs and the fragmentation of society into subcultures. Based on a definition of religious pluralism as the tolerance of a diversity of religious beliefs, then it can be said that the research findings revealed that Ukraine is not yet religiously pluralist. Although it appears that the traditional churches are not theologically prepared for religious tolerance due to their prioritisation of the preservation of religious tradition, it was argued that it might be possible for religious pluralism to be attained within a symbolic Orthodox national identity. Regardless, the research results show that students are creating their own belief systems and expressing their spirituality through the eclectic collection of ideas and symbols.

The use of a non-Confessional definition of spirituality[697] unearthed data that contributes to the field of studies of spiritual experience. Similar to Sir Alister Hardy's study of religious experience in the UK in the 1960s, this research also took a phenomenological approach. Additionally, just as Hardy's work was based on people's accounts of their encounter with a 'benevolent non-physical power,'[698] this dissertation sought to investigate spirituality as opposed to religious practice. However, Hardy's research depended on people responding to notices in newspapers and volunteering narratives of encounters with a transcendent other, thus it overlooked people who would not articulate certain events as a 'spiritual' experience. In contrast, this dissertation, holding to the belief that all people have a raw spirituality, investigated the spirituality of a random group of students,[699] which enabled the discovery of a spectrum of awareness of spirituality.[700] Furthermore, whereas Hardy's research focused on the similarities and varieties of people's spiritual experiences, the research of this dissertation broadened the

---

[697] Defined in Chapter 1. pp. 18-26.
[698] Sir Alister Hardy 1979 *The Spiritual Nature of Man: A Study of Contemporary Religious Experience.* Oxford: Clarendon Press. p. 1.
[699] The group was 'random' in the sense that their ideas about spirituality were unknown when they were chosen to take part in the research.
[700] See the spirituality scale in Chapter 4, p. 152.

understanding of spirituality to include the search for identity, ultimate meaning, security and meaningful relationships.

David Hay, who worked at the Religious Experience Research Unit set up by Hardy, writes that the awareness of a transcendent realm has been shown to be widespread in Western society.[701] From his perspective as a religious believer, he admits that these research results are 'extraordinarily encouraging.'[702] However, he believes that this underlying awareness of spirituality will remain hidden unless religious organisations encourage people to speak about personal religious experiences. "The task of the churches, if they wish to minister to the spiritual needs of the majority of British people, must be to become more sensitively aware of this hidden religion."[703] Although not initiated by religious groups, there is evidence of an interest in studying religious experience in other countries. The Religious Experience Research Unit is now located at the University of Wales, Lampeter. Professor Paul Badham and Professor Xinzhong Yao recently carried out research into expressions of spirituality in China and are planning a similar investigation of spirituality in Russia.

This dissertation is a contribution toward an understanding of spirituality in Ukraine. The findings indicate a pressing need for organised religion to give shape and stability to the current shifting spiritualities of young people. This would require, as Hay states above, that Christian thinking about proselytism should change because, as we have seen, Ukrainian young people have an existing spirituality that will primarily manifest itself in non-traditional religious forms. Instead of regarding these individualised expressions of spirituality as a threat, the situation indicates that religious groups could look beyond them to the articulation of need, taking into account young people's existing thoughts and experiences in the midst of their quest for meaning. If church leaders work toward meeting the personal spiritual needs of individual young people and helping them to answer their specific questions of meaning, they may find young people open to dialogue. However, the data shows that if instead churches continue to set up barriers of past traditions and complicated religious rules, young people will not look to churches for guidance in their quest to find transcendence.

---

[701] David Hay is an Honorary Senior Research Fellow in the Department of Divinity and Religious Studies at the University of Aberdeen.
[702] David Hay 1990 *Religious Experience Today: Studying the Facts*. London: Mowbray. p. iii.
[703] Ibid. p. 99.

Specifically, Euro-American Protestant groups would benefit from the discovery that Ukraine is not the spiritual wasteland it is sometimes caricatured to be. This dissertation has argued that the Slavic worldview is unique because it has a mystical approach to life.[704] There has always been an undercurrent of spirituality in the region, as we have seen evident in the rich history of Christian belief and religious symbols.[705] Additionally, spirituality continued as a powerful force during Soviet days, sometimes revealing itself in socialist expressions of devotion.[706] Moreover, we have seen that spirituality has always tended to flow outside the establishment. The use of icons has battled against idolatry since the beginning and contemporary Orthodox priests struggle to know where pagan practice ends and folk Ukrainian Orthodox traditions begin.[707] The images of Marfa and Irena holding crosses and casting spells are visual evidence that the historical syncretism between pagan superstitious practice and Orthodox ritual is still present and real in Ukraine today.[708] Furthermore, the openness to spirituality found among a large proportion of the students who participated in the research is indicative of spiritual seeking in the midst of a multiplicity of options, not a spiritual deficiency.[709] Thus, Protestant teaching will compete with existing spiritualities.

It may be useful for Protestant groups to consider the significant role that images could play in aiding young people in their quest for a satisfying spirituality. We have seen that an image is an effective medium for communicating spirituality and transcendence. However, it is evident that young people distrust images that are blatantly designed to influence.[710] Therefore, it would not be advisable for religious practitioners to launch into a wholesale use of images in proselytism without due consideration of the associations evoked by the images and the methods employed for using the images to provoke a response. Although a full discussion of the potential use of images for communicating spiritual realities is outside the parameters of this dissertation, it is worth noting here that much could be learned by Protestants from the Orthodox practice of maintaining a canon of images and the reverent use of traditional symbols to direct the viewer to contemplation of the divine reality, God.

---

[704] See Horne's observations in Chapter 2, p. 40.
[705] As described throughout Chapter 3.
[706] For example, see the poem to Lenin quoted in Chapter 3, p. 106.
[707] As Caugin explained in an interview in Chapter 4, p. 166.
[708] As discussed in Chapter 5.
[709] See the expressions of spirituality articulated by students in Chapter 4, p. 141 ff.
[710] As the data revealed in Chapter 4, p. 131.

In addition, we have seen that if Orthodox Church leaders wish to encourage more young people to become active in church faith and practice, they need to realise that people are no longer born with an Orthodox identity. We saw that very few of the students follow the church's religious practices.[711] Young people build their identity through the clothes they wear, the music they listen to and the subculture within which they find community. The majority of the young people who participated in the research were not prepared to relinquish these aspects of their self-expression in order to search for answers to life's ultimate questions within Orthodoxy. As one student said, "I am kind of a believer, but a believer inside, in myself. I don't need a church."[712] Students have a desire to experience the spiritual world in manner that seems relevant to their circumstances and experiences. This situation requires that traditional churches offer space for individual expressions of the search for God and seek to meet young people's need for community.[713]

Berger observes that in a pluralistic situation, traditional religions have three options in order to maintain their tradition: affirm the authority of the church in defiance of challenges to it, attempt to secularise the tradition, or make efforts to retrieve the experiences embodied in the tradition.[714] As argued in the previous chapter, Ukraine is in the early stages of development into a pluralistic society. Nevertheless, the traditional churches are often threatened by pluralist attitudes, and generally take Berger's first option by attempting to strengthen their authority to discern 'right belief'. On the other hand, Berger argues that only the third option is viable because it offers new opportunities of understanding between the beliefs of the religious tradition and the people's belief systems. He recommends that an 'inductive' approach should be taken to understanding spirituality, meaning "an approach that begins with ordinary human experience, explores the 'signals of transcendence' to be found in it, and moves on from there to religious affirmations about the nature of reality."[715] The future development of spirituality in Ukraine depends on a spirit of dialogue between religious groups and youth subcultures. Indeed, this is already taking place at St Catherine the Martyr, the parish of Father Petr, mentioned in Chapter 2, who welcomed all people to participate in the services. He did not require the usual strict dress requirements because he believed that it was important that young people felt at home in the church.

---

[711] As part of the content analysis in Chapter 4, we saw that only one of the students placed icons in his living space for prayer, p. 135. Additionally, in the same chapter we saw that the students revealed that although many of them were given crosses at their baptism, most of them never wear them. p. 156.
[712] From interview 19-M-SI-280302.
[713] See Kolodniy's argument, Chapter 5, p. 173.
[714] Peter Berger 1980 *The Heretical Imperative.* London: Collins. p. xi.
[715] Ibid. p. ix.

The spirituality of young people need not remain a mystery to religious leaders, since, as demonstrated in this dissertation, the spirituality of young people is visually discernable. We saw that walls are sacred space, particularly with regard to an image of a person.[716] All the students who participated in the case study, each in their own way, used images to articulate their search for identity, a sense of community, success and security, ultimate meaning and/or transcendence.[717] Therefore, spending time with students in their living space and observing their use of images is an insightful way to discover how they use images to support and strengthen their existing worldview and to make sense of their place in the unstable social situation.[718] We saw that students who fashioned their own personal spirituality tended to create unique images to support their beliefs, such as the student who created her own symbol or the student who wanted to form her individual system of 'saint people'.[719] Thus, it would not be difficult for anyone interested in youth spirituality to observe the plurality of beliefs based on the on-going spiritual use of images.[720]

Although this dissertation has brought to light several important insights about the nature of spirituality in Ukraine, the greater significance of this research is the methodology. The study of a 'telling case' revealed the connection between spirituality and images in the Ukrainian context. This is a significant methodological finding for the developing field of visual ethnography and particularly photo elicitation, which thus far has been concerned with various aspects of social life such as social class, social organisation, historical ethnography, identity and so on, but until now has not delved into spirituality.[721] Using images to research spirituality opens up many new avenues of possible investigations of belief in many different contexts. Douglas Harper writes that talking about images can "jolt subjects into a new awareness of their social existence."[722] This was particularly true with the research for this dissertation – at times it was evident that the students had not thought about their spirituality, and the interviews helped them to express, sometimes for the first time, how they sought meaning and transcendence. Additionally the images bridged cultural and language barriers, transporting both interviewer and respondent to another place. The images then drew forth reactions and impressions that previously

---

[716] See Chapter 4, p. 141.
[717] See Chapter 4, "Spiritual Images", pp. 139 – 151.
[718] See Morgan's comments in Chapter 1, p. 31.
[719] See Chapter 4, p. 140.
[720] For example, see the cards that are used like icons by Protestant groups, the Buddhist drawing or the White Brotherhood's Chart of the Divine Self in Chapter 4.
[721] Douglas Harper 2002 'Talking about pictures: a case for photo elicitation', *Visual Studies* 17(1): 13-26.
[722] Ibid. p. 21.

existed subconsciously, giving them form and articulation as the students talked about and chose images for their walls.

We saw in Chapter 1 that historian David Morgan investigated the role of mass-produced religious images in the United States in the social construction of reality by those who display them.[723] He was particularly interested in American's use of reproductions of Sallman's painting *Head of Christ*. He discovered that "images serve as a material means of conducting the rituals that define the public, domestic, and private spheres in which believers discern their identity and the characteristic horizons of reality that link them to one another and gather their experience into coherent worlds."[724] Similar to Morgan's findings, the data of this dissertation also showed that the meaning of the image was not merely the act of putting it on the wall, but also existed in its display and the use of images to support an existing worldview.[725] Furthermore, Morgan's study of religious images is extended in this dissertation to all types of images, although the image archive did include several explicitly religious images.

Paul Willis's ethnographic study in Wolverhampton of youth identity included all kinds of images and symbols used in personal space, as mentioned in the Introduction Chapter.[726] Willis believes that "being human – human be-ing-ness – means to be creative in the sense of remaking the world for ourselves as we make and find our own place and identity."[727] He observes that young people need to creatively express their identity in order to find their place within society, 'to culturally survive.'[728] He found that the traditional symbols provided by religion, schools, trade unions, or the monarchy no longer help young people in their transition to adulthood. His work resonated with the situation in Ukraine, where young people are also in the process of creating their identity in the context of a dearth of traditional symbols. Willis' research data showed that the young people's reading of symbols revealed their internal, imaginative and spiritual life.[729] This dissertation was similar the work of Willis, but narrowed the investigation to spirituality. Willis also studied many types of symbolic expressions, whereas this research focused on the use of images.

---

[723] David Morgan 1998 *Visual Piety: A History and Theory of Popular Religious Images*. London: University of California Press.
[724] Ibid. p. 18.
[725] See Ibid. p. 10 and Chapter 4 of this dissertation, the section 'Ultimate Meaning', p. 147.
[726] Paul Willis 1990 *Common Culture: Symbolic Work at Play in the Everyday Cultures of the Young*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
[727] Ibid. p. 11.
[728] Ibid. p. 13.
[729] Ibid. p. 24.

Additionally, as we saw in Chapter 1, Eleanor Nesbitt conducted a study in Coventry of religiosity among eight to thirteen year-olds using photographs of places of worship.[730] Similar to the methods used for this dissertation, she combined participant observation with casual conversations and informal interviews in the respondents' homes. Her observation that images enabled the children to freely talk about their religious experiences was supported in this research, evidenced in the Ukrainian students' openness to speaking about their spirituality and their search for meaning. This dissertation, similar to Nesbitt's, used a collaborative approach through analysing images provided by the young people on their walls. However, the investigation of this dissertation focused on spirituality instead of religious belief.

There is evidence of a growing interest in image-based research in Central Europe. For example, a research institute in Bratislava, Slovakia, 'SEN' has investigated people's subjective ideas about God through a photo elicitation method from an image archive of hundreds of images of people. An analysis based on the types of relationships shown within the pictures identified the respondents' notions of God, particularly in relation to God as authority.[731] Furthermore, Gabriel Hanganu, a PhD student at the University of Oxford, collected photographs of icons used in daily life in northeastern Romania between 1999 and 2001. He studied the public use of icons outside of religious settings, such as displays of icons in public transportation, offices, shops, streets and art galleries and their dissemination through art schools and the Internet. He discovered a renewed interest in icons after four decades of Communist restrictions.[732]

As has been demonstrated, there is an increasing body of knowledge surrounding the use of images in social research, but much more could be done in this field. The unique methodology created for the field research of this thesis can be used as a building block for other research to investigate spirituality. For example, similar research could be conducted among students in the eastern Ukrainian city of Kharkov and compared with the data from Kiev, or even with research performed in a city in western Ukraine, such as Lviv. The comparison of the spirituality of the different regions would be particularly interesting in light of the recent political divisions between eastern and western Ukraine.

---

[730] Eleanor Nesbitt 2000 'Researching 8 to 13-year-olds' perspectives on their experience of religion', in Lewis (ed) *Researching Children's Perspectives*, Buckingham: Open University Press. pp. 135-149.
[731] For the results of the SEN research see Marc LiVecche 2004 "Every Knee Shall Bow: An Inquiry into What Masters Us" *A SEN Field Study Paper*. http://www.citygate.org (viewed on 5.11.04).
[732] See http://www.iscmrc.org/english/hanganu.html (viewed on 4.11.04).

The discoveries of this dissertation can be applied to other contexts; for example, Christian leaders in Romania could learn from the results and use them for their own ministry in their country. Ideally the research method could be used in other countries to discover more about the spirituality of local young people. Visual ethnographic case studies would be most fruitful if conducted in cities of countries that are both post-Soviet and Orthodox, such as Bucharest, St Petersburg or Sophia. Since each of these locations has a similar visual spiritual history and a comparable post-atheistic social context that is experiencing the influx of Western ideas, this further research could be used to compare with the findings in Kiev, and to draw further conclusions about the spirituality of young people in former Soviet countries. However, it is advisable to limit the research to students, because they usually have more freedom than teenagers to decorate their own living space.

It is also possible to use photo elicitation research methods to study spirituality in the United Kingdom. Although this country does not have the same historical tradition of images and spirituality as Ukraine, communication in Western society is increasingly visual. With the use of films, television, and the Internet supplementing and at times supplanting the printing press as channels of information, electronic culture relies increasingly on the use of images rather than text.[733] Thus, it stands to reason that as various aspects of life come to be communicated visually, spirituality will also be expressed through images. Additionally, a study of spirituality in Great Britain is likely to be more telling than research into religiosity in light of the current pick and mix style of worldview formation evidenced in the belief systems of contemporary fragmented youth cultures.[734] David Hay and Kate Hunt conducted qualitative research of the spirituality of people who do not attend church through focus groups and 'research conversations'. Hay and Hunt found that focusing on people's personal expressions of spirituality was far more fruitful than asking them about religious practice.[735] Understanding youth

---

[733] Andrew Walker traces the development of 'electronic culture' and the response of Christian groups in a chapter called, "Forgetting the Story" in Andrew Walker 1996 *Telling the Story*. London: SPCK. p. 75.
[734] As mentioned in Chapter 5, Anglican Bishop Graham Cray predicted in 1992 that spirituality in emerging culture in Britain would be central to society, and would be characterised by an amalgamation of ideas, chosen in the same way that a shopper picks what appeals and mixes items together. Graham Cray (1992) *From Here to Where? – The Culture of the Nineties*. Board of Mission of the Church of England Occassional Paper, number 3. http://members.tripod.com/~nineoclockservice/craydoc.htm (viewed on 1/12/2004).
[735] David Hay and Kate Hunt 2000 'Understanding the Spirituality of People who don't go to Church: A Report on the Findings of the Adult Spirituality Project': University of Nottingham. See section 7.6.1. http://www.ctbi.org.uk/downloads/ccom/documents/0008%20David%20Hay%20Final%20Report.doc (viewed on 18/01/05).

spirituality, not religiosity, is the key to unlocking channels of communication between youth culture and Christian ministry.[736]

This assertion is described in depth by Australian David Tacey, in his book, *The Spirituality Revolution*, referred to in the Chapter 1. He asserts that religious thinking is in an unstable period "in which spirit frequently reverts to informal or non-religious expressions, and it is therefore hard to see, discern or measure."[737] Essentially, this dissertation shows that Tacey's theories about youth spirituality can be extended to an Eastern European context. He observes that in a Western society facing a crisis of meaning, young people are sensitive to meaninglessness and a lack of purpose. He describes the fascination with the search for meaning and a sense of the transcendent as a 'spirituality revolution', which tends to manifest itself primarily among young people. It is 'spiritual' because it is "an encounter with a source of mystery that transforms us as we come into contact with it" and it is a 'revolution' not because it is political but because it primarily operates outside of traditional religious structures.[738] In his opinion, this search for the transcendent must be taken seriously.

> "For many of our youth spirituality is the search for guiding visions and values within this world, for the deep currents of spiritual impulse and reality that give life meaning and direction. Even if they sometimes dabble in esoterica and occult philosophies that seem remotely connected with history or philosophy as the university conceives them, this search is in order to know our human experience more fully. What academics perceive to be a flight from the real is often a quest for the heart of the real."[739]

Although the cause of the 'crisis of meaning' in Australia is different from the Ukrainian post-Soviet situation, we have seen that the ensuing 'spirituality revolution' takes similar forms.

The spiritual side of humanity needs meaning because it is a source of strength and emotional health. Spirituality is vitally important, not only for Christian mission, but also for society in general. Bishop Lesslie Newbigin observes:

> "There are the needs of the human spirit which simply must be met. It seems that those religious bodies which have tried to accommodate as much as possible of the rationalism of the Enlightenment are those which are in

---

[736] Berger complains that most sociology of religion research is focused on religious institutions – what he critiques as a 'sociology of churches' that does not encompass people's actual beliefs about the supernatural or transcendent reality. Peter Berger 1969 *A Rumor of Angels: Modern Society and the Rediscovery of the Supernatural*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc. pp. 2-3.
[737] David Tacey 2003 *The Spirituality Revolution: The Emergence of Contemporary Spirituality*. London: HarperCollins. p. 32
[738] Ibid. p. 61.
[739] Ibid. p. 66.

> decline, and those which have maintained a strong emphasis on the supernatural dimension of religion have flourished. Here I am not equating religion with Christianity. There is much flourishing of new religions and the revival of old ones which is more pagan than Christian... This is surely evidence of the fact that the human spirit cannot live permanently with a form of rationality which has no answer to the question 'why?'"[740]

Indeed, as we have seen, the question 'why' was evidenced in the expressions of raw spirituality of Ukrainian young people. This questioning is articulated in a song by Ukrainian rock star Alexander Nepomnyaschiy, "Counter-Cultural Blues," popular during the time of the field research, and encapsulating the hopelessness, anger against commercialism and organised religion, and general fatalism expressed in the music and poetry of young people. Below is an excerpt:

> *Counter-culture as a style, for example, a mark of spit on a wall,*
> *Revolution as a fashionable fun; slogans of discos.*
> *A drop of blood on the blade soaps the neck to the noose.*
> *What's a pity! It didn't finish soaping –*
> *There would have been less of snot and rotten carts.*
> *The entire world is a shit; the goal is a provision shop,*
> *It has a snout of Kurt Cobain.*
> *The fingers of the creatures are itching to shoot at the passing people*
> *Probably, you've got a quaky one.*
> *Have you had enough dreams?*
> *Have you been put down till now?*
> *So, guzzle your port.*
>
> *Please yourself with coolness and depression,*
> *Curse bourgeoisies or niggers with hippies – cat-and-mouse –*
> *The result in general is the same:*
> *You'll be tagged with a label, a stylish put on and a couple of badges*
> *And a program in your brains, a belief: you are the one here*
> *On the way to the shelf in the kitchen store.*
> *Beat military registration and enlistment officers with the gut of the last priest,*
> *No matter, nobody understands.*
> *Freedom to subconsciousness, down with Orthodox fascism...*
>
> *Mr. Architect, the good master of this globe*
> *Master of puppets of this world –*
> *And the figures are running, except the ones who're not willing*
> *On the way to the shelf in the puppet store.*[741]

---

[740] Lesslie Newbigin 1989 *The Gospel in a Pluralist Society*. London: SPCK. p. 213.
[741] "Counter-cultural Blues" by Alexander Nepomnyaschiy, from the album *Zemlyanika* (Wild Strawberries), translated by Christina Malysheva.

In conclusion, research of spirituality is increasingly necessary in the contemporary social climate of shifting beliefs, because, as opposed to studies of religious practice, this research answers the question of what there is instead of what there is not. Additionally, a study of youth spirituality is essential to gaining an understanding of the spiritual pulse of a society. Young people are sensitised to the need for ultimate meaning, and their pursuit of transcendence can reveal the direction that this quest will take in society. Operationally defining spirituality as the quest for ultimate meaning in life, similar to Newbigin's question 'why', enabled the discovery of a rich search for transcendence among young people. Where others have seen emptiness or a vacuum, this research discovered a variety of spiritualities. Images provided the window through which to catch a glimpse of the foundational yet ethereal aspect of being human: spirituality.

Appendix 1

Photo Elicitation

Images you would never put up and why:

Five (or less) that you would put up and why:

What would people learn about you if you had these 5 pictures on your wall?

Interview Questions

How long have you lived here?

Are you free to decorate as you please?

Did you decorate the walls yourself?

(If dorm room) Do you have a room or area that is especially yours at your parents' home? Did you decorate it?

Where did these images come from?

Why did you put these images up?

How do you choose what to put on your walls?

What do people learn about you when they see your walls?

Do any of these pictures represent something deeper? Are they symbolic?

Are there images that you have that are important to you that are not on your walls? Why aren't they on your wall?

Are there any images that you would like to put on your wall but you haven't yet? If you could put anything on the wall, what would you put?

Do you have a favourite logo?

(If Orthodox) Have you been baptised? Do you wear a cross? Are you part of a local Orthodox community?

Appendix 2

Interview Images – Photo Elicitation Image Archive

The first table below lists each of the fifty-five pictures in the order that they were shown to interviewees. Each image was given a title, which is followed by a few descriptive comments. Each image falls into a particular category. The last three columns show the interviewees' responses to the images. The numbers indicate how many students decided they would 'never', 'possibly' or 'definitely' put the image on their wall.

#	Title	Comments	Category	Never	Possibly	Definitely
1	Dido	Music Pop star from the West	Pop - Foreign	12	7	1
2	Detsil (Децл)	Hip Hop pop star, Russian aged 16	Pop - Slavic	19	1	0
3	Landscape	Austrian travel image	Environment/ aesthetic	5	7	8
4	Natalia Oreuro	Actress in South American soap opera 'Wild Angel'	Television	16	4	0
5	Soul-B	Break dancers interviewed in *Хем* magazine	Pop - Slavic	14	6	0
6	Kandinsky	Print of an Impressionist painting	Aesthetic	11	3	6
7	Andrey Shevchenko	Footballer, plays for Ukraine, regarded as a national hero	Sports	15	4	1
8	Icon	Virgin and Child by Procopius Chirin, 17th Century Russia	Spiritual	12	4	4
9	Eiffel Tower	Travel info	Aesthetic	6	10	4
10	Bio art print	Artist Tomas Viotom 'feels like a god' when he creates new worlds.	Aesthetic	8	6	6
11	X-Files	Moulder and Scully look at a corpse	Television	17	3	0
12	Magic The Gathering	An advert for a role-play Tolkienist game	Advert	17	3	0
13	'Lady U'	Cartoon of politician Yulia Tymoshenko	Political	14	4	2
14	Deer on a mountain	From an Austrian travel magazine	Ecological/ Aesthetic	6	7	7
15	Green Party Leader	Vitaliy Kononov	Political	16	4	0
16	Radio advert	105.5 FM, plays pop music	Advert	16	4	0

17	Collage	Picasso w/ a butterfly by Sergey Papajanov	Aesthetic	9	5	6
18	Overgrown monument	A photograph of a Soviet monument	Monument	15	5	0
19	'Твои друзья'	Your friends – anonymous photograph	Friends	9	8	3
20	5 Buddhas	'Mandala of the five Dhyani Buddhas'	Spiritual	8	10	2
21	Mega-Zen Party	Advert in 'Ptuch' magazine	Pop Music, techno	15	5	0
22	Aquarium	Russian rock band, w/ Boris Grevenschivkov	Rock - Russian	12	6	2
23	Marilyn Manson	Commercial heavy metal	Foreign - Heavy Metal	16	3	1
24	Mumi Troll	Russian Indie Rock band	Slav Pop – indie Rock	14	5	1
25	Niketa	Two stars of Australian serial about secret agents, very popular in Ukraine.	Television	15	5	0
26	Metal Mamma	Mother Motherland, large Soviet monument in Kiev	Monument	13	6	1
27	Beer advert	Slaboteech beer	Advert	16	4	0
28	Romantic photo	From OM magazine	Aesthetic	12	6	2
29	Quicksilver logo	From internet – surfer/skater gear	Logo	15	5	0
30	Jimmy Hendrix	Rock icon	Rock – Foreign	11	8	1
31	Earth	Earth in space	Environ / Aesthetic	9	7	4
32	Backstreet Boys	British boy band	Pop – Foreign	16	4	0
33	Buffy	American Television serial	Television	17	3	0
34	Yulia Chicherina	New Russian rock star, very commercial	Slav Pop	14	6	0
35	Gas Jeans advert	Expensive yet fashionable jeans	Advert	16	4	0
36	Jim Morrison	Rock icon, lead singer of the Doors	Rock – Foreign	10	6	4
37	Чорне Море	Black Sea travel photo	Aesthetic	11	5	4
38	Alsou Safena	Russian pop singer	SlavPop	15	5	0
39	Leonid Kuchma	President is sworn in	Political	16	2	2

40	Lord of the Rings	Still from the film	Film	15	5	0
41	Goth in graveyard	Angsty clothing advert	Advert	14	4	2
42	Shevchenko	Print of a painting of the Poet of Ukraine	Political	14	5	1
43	Topless Hippie	From Пік magazine	Erotic	16	4	0
44	Che Gevara	South American revolutionary, fashionable image in Ukraine	Political	9	8	3
45	Madonna	World famous pop image	Pop – Foreign	15	5	0
46	Music Channel	Advert for O-TV, MTV type programming	Advert	17	3	0
47	Divine Self	'Chart of your divine self' drawing, New Age	Spiritual	13	6	1
48	Rose	From a calendar	Aesthetic	8	4	8
49	Anti-smoking	Quirky anti-smoking poster	Political	12	8	0
50	Eminem	Hip Hop star, angsty	Hip Hop – Foreign	16	4	0
51	Lenin Monument	At the train station in St Petersburg	Monument	14	4	2
52	Skryabin	Front man 'Kuzma', pop, Russian	Slav Pop	17	3	0
53	100.1 FM advert	From Ptuch magazine, reference to a propaganda poster	Advert	17	3	0
54	Nike Logo	From Nike site – sports gear	Logo	16	4	0
55	Clichko	Ukrainian boxer brothers	Sports Stars	12	7	1

The following table extends over two pages, and displays the same data, but analysed by interview. The top row indicates the number of the image from the archive. The column on the left contains the codes indicating the interview: Age of interviewee – gender – university – date of interview. Hence, '17-M-KM-130202' is an interview with a seventeen year old male student from Kiev Mohyla Academy which took place on 13 February 2002. The university codes are as follows:

KM Kiev Mohyla Academy
SI Solomon Institute
NL National Linguistic Institute
SU Shevchenko National University
AS National Academy of Science

The chart indicates the students' decision about the image: 'N' indicates they would 'never' put it up, 'D' indicates they would definitely put it up, and an empty box means that they might possibly put it up.

Image Elicitation Results by Interview

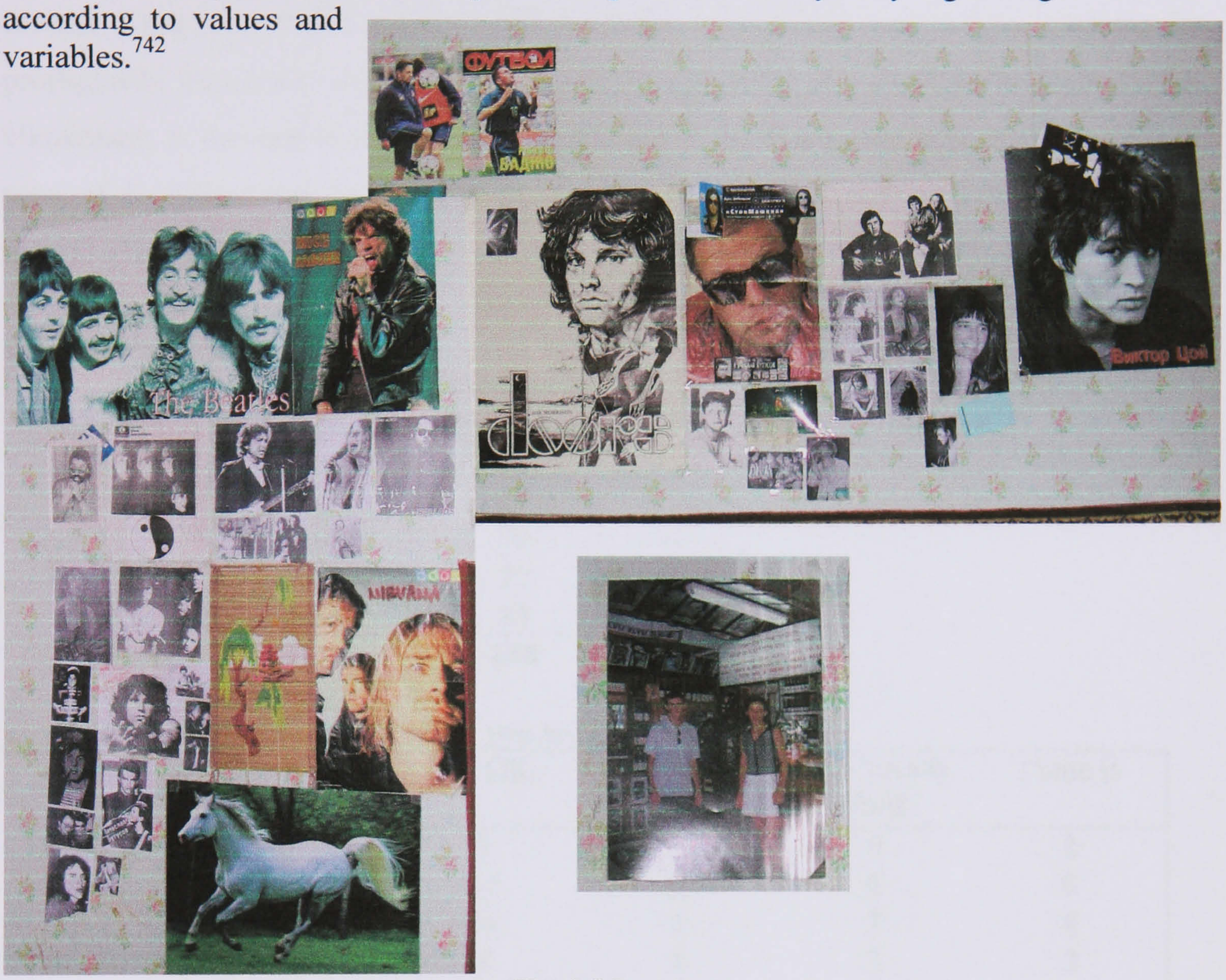
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29
17-M-KM-130202		N	D					D						D				N					N						
18-F-SI-010402	N	N	N	N	N	D	N	N		D	N	N	N	N	N	N	D	N	D		N	N	N	N	N	N	N	D	
18-M-KM-200202		N	D			D				D				D													N		
19-F-NL-100602	D	N		N	N	N	N	N		N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	D	N	N	N	N	N
19-F-NL-290402		N	N		N	N	N	N	D	N	N	N	N		N	N	N	N	D	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
20-F-KM-050302				N		D				D													N				N		
20-F-KM-130202	N	N	D	N		N	N	N		D	N	N	N		N		D	N			N	N	N	N		N	N	N	N
20-M-KM-050202	N	N		N	N			D			N	N	N			N	D				N	N	N	N	N				N
18-F-SU-080502	N	N	D	N	N	N	N	N	N	D	N	N	N	N	N	N	D	N	N		N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
23-M-KM-170402	N	N	D	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	D	N	N	N	N	N	D	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
17-M-SU-020502	N	N			N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	D	N	N	N	N	N	N	N		N	N	N	N	N	N	N
17-M-SU-110402	N	N	D	N	N		N	N			N	N	D		N	N			N		N	D	N	N	N	D		N	N
19-F-KM-050202	N	N	D	N	N	D	N			D	N	N	N		N	N	D				N				N		N	N	N
19-M-SI-280302		N	N	N		D	N	N	N		N	N	N	N	N	N		N	N	N		N	D	N	N	N	N		
21-M-KM-090402	N	N	N	N	N	N	D	N	N	N	N	N	D	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N		N	N	N	N	D	N
22-M-AS-250502	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	D	D	N	N	N	N	D	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
23-F-KM-020402	N	N	D	N	N	N	N		D	N	N	N	N	D	N	N	D	N		D	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
19-F-KM-030202		N		N		D	N	D	D		N	N	N	D	N	N	N	N	N				N			N			N
22-F-AS-020502	N	N		N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N		N	N	D	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
23-F-NL-180602		N		N	N	N	N	N			N	N			N	N	N	N	D	N	N	N	N	N	N		N	N	N
Totals:																													
Never put up	12	19	5	16	14	11	15	12	6	8	17	17	14	6	16	16	9	15	9	8	15	12	16	14	15	13	16	12	15
Possibly put up	7	1	7	4	6	3	4	4	10	6	3	3	4	7	4	4	5	5	8	10	5	6	3	5	5	6	4	6	5
Definitely put up	1	0	8	0	0	6	1	4	4	6	0	0	2	7	0	0	6	0	3	2	0	2	1	1	0	1	0	2	0

	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55
17-M-KM-130202							N	D		N		N	D									N				
18-F-SI-010402	N		N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
18-M-KM-200202														N					D							
19-F-NL-100602	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N		
19-F-NL-290402	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	D		N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	D	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
20-F-KM-050302		D	N	N				D		N								N								
20-F-KM-130202			N	N	N	N	D	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N		D		N	N	N	N	N	
20-M-KM-050202	N	D	N	N		N		N	N					N			N		D	N	N	D	N	N	N	
18-F-SU-080502	N	N	N	N	N	N	N		N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	D		N	N	N	N	N	N
23-M-KM-170402	N	D	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	D	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
17-M-SU-020502		N	N	N	N	N	D	N	N	N	N	N	N			N	N	N	D	N	N	N	N	N	N	D
17-M-SU-110402	N	N	N	N	N	N	N		N	N	N	N	N	N		N	N	N	N	N	N	D	N	N	N	N
19-F-KM-050202	N		N	N	N				N	D	N			N		N	N				N		N	N	N	N
19-M-SI-280302		N		N		N	D	N	N	N	N	D	N	N	D	N	N	N	N	N		N	N	N	N	N
21-M-KM-090402		N	N	N	N	N		N		D	N	N	N		D	N	N	N	N	N	N		N	N	N	N
22-M-AS-250502	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N		N	N	N	N	N	N
23-F-KM-020402	N		N	N		N	N	N	N	N		N	N	N	N		N	N	D	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
19-F-KM-030202					N	N			N	N	N	D		N	N	N	N				N	N	N	N	N	N
22-F-AS-020502	D	N	N	N	N	N	D	N	N	N	N	N	N	N		N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
23-F-NL-180602	N	D	N	N	N	N	N	D	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	D	D	N	N	N	N	N	N	
Total:																										
Never put up	11	9	16	17	14	16	10	11	15	16	15	14	14	16	9	15	17	13	8	12	16	14	17	17	16	12
Possibly put up	8	7	4	3	6	4	6	5	5	2	5	4	5	4	8	5	3	6	4	8	4	4	3	3	4	7
Definitely put up	1	4	0	0	0	0	4	4	0	2	0	2	1	0	3	0	0	1	8	0	0	2	0	0	0	1

Appendix 3

Example of Content Analysis

These are the three photographs taken during interview 22-F-AS-020502. The contents of the photographs were analysed using the chart below, based on media and visual researcher Philip Bell's method of performing a content analysis by organising the results according to values and variables.[742]



Variables

Values	Acquired	Image	Person	Gaze	Production	Placement
	Gift 1	Person 41	Pop star 38	Engages Viewer 13	Mass produced 42	On wall 44
		Place 0	Sport star 2			
		Animal 1	Saint 0	Away from viewer 21		
		Product 0	Friend/family 1			
	Bought/ Taken 43	Symbol 0	Politician 0	Down on viewer 3	Hand made 2	On shelf 0
		Text 0	Unknown 0			
		Cartoon 0		Up at viewer 1		
		Object 2				

[742] Philip Bell 2001 'Content Analysis of Visual Images', in Van Leeuwen and Jewitt (eds) *Handbook of Visual Analysis*, London: Sage, pp. 10-34.

Appendix 4

Lenin Monument Survey Results

A survey was conducted on 23 May 2002, of 148 people who walked near the Lenin monument in Kiev. The aim of the survey was to ascertain people's general opinion toward a monument to a Soviet hero and their consciousness of it as a medium for propaganda. The survey was undertaken with the assistance of a translator and a two other Ukrainians. It was performed between 13:30 and 17:30 on a weekday on the street within view of the monument. Below is a summary of the results according to the six questions asked.

What is your age category?

Age	**Number of respondents**
Under 18	12
18-30	65
31-45	30
46-60	27
61 +	14
Total	**148**

What is your first thought when you see this monument?

	I like it very much.	It is OK.	I don't care.	I don't really like it.	I hate it
Under 18	0	3	7	0	2
18-30	5	31	20	8	0
31-45	4	14	6	2	4
46-60	10	4	8	3	2
61 +	3	6	4	0	1
Total %	15%	39%	31%	9%	6%

Why do you think this monument was placed here?

	The people wanted it	To honour a great leader	Historical Education	Propaganda	Other
Under 18	1	6	2	0	3
18-30	3	13	22	25	2
31-45	2	3	16	9	0
46-60	0	9	8	9	1
61 +	2	4	5	2	1
Total %	5%	24%	36%	30%	5%

What do you think this monument meant to people 25 years ago?

	Lenin was a great leader	We should be like Lenin	Let's work together for Lenin's vision of the future	People didn't care about Lenin	Other
Under 18	7	0	4	0	1
18-30	29	4	10	15	7
31-45	16	1	4	7	2
46-60	14	3	4	6	0
61 +	6	1	2	5	0
Total %	49%	6%	16%	22%	7%

What do you think it means to people now?

	Lenin was a great leader	A record of the historical past	It is a place for tourists to take photos	People don't care about Lenin	Other
Under 18	0	9	1	1	1
18-30	3	43	10	8	1
31-45	2	20	2	5	1
46-60	3	9	1	7	7
61 +	0	8	2	4	0
Total %	5%	60%	11%	17%	7%

Do you think the monument should be taken down/ removed?

	Yes, it should definitely be removed.	Yes, if it doesn't cost too much to take it down.	I don't care.	It's not bothering anyone, leave it.	No, it should definitely stay.
Under 18	2	1	2	5	2
18-30	4	5	2	39	15
31-45	4	1	1	12	12
46-60	6	0	0	10	11
61 +	2	2	0	6	4
Total %	12%	6%	3%	49%	30%

Appendix 5

Images that inspire . . .

Icons	Soviet Images	Advertising	Pop Culture
Part of liturgical worship	Community rituals – pioneers, veteran honours, weddings		
Mediating between God and humans, lifting humans to God	Building a sense of the transcendent & Shaping a worldview	A reminder of the easy life that one can dream of	A reminder of the success of the people portrayed
Education in dogma and religious history	Education in Socialist dogma and history	Education in how one should live	
Theological argument against heresy	Argument against fascists and other ideologies		Philosophical arguments against the status quo
Building a religious (and national) identity	Building a national identity	Building a consumer identity	Building individual identity
Spread Sacred space, performing miracles			
Call to Pray	Call to action	Call to buy	Call to rebel

Bibliography

Agadjanian, Alexander 2000 'Religious Pluralism and National Identity in Russia',
International Journal on Multicultural Societies, 2(2): 97-124.

Agadjanian, Alexander and Rousselet, Kathy 2003 'Globalization and Identity Discourse in Russian Orthodoxy' *Challenges of Religious Plurality for Eastern and Central Europe Conference*, Lviv, Ukraine.

Agar, Michael 1996 *The Professional Stranger : an informal introduction to ethnography*. 2nd Edition, San Diego: Academic Press.

Aidan, Brother 1991 'Icon-Making as a Model of Orthodox Cosmology', *Sophia* 1: 19-30.

Anttonen, Veikko 1996 'Rethinking the Sacred', in T. A. Idinopulos and E. Yonan (eds) *The Sacred and Its Scholars: Comparative Methodologies for the Study of Primary Religious Data*, Leiden: Brill, pp. 36-64.

Archer, Margaret Scotford 1998 *Critical Realism: essential readings*. London: Routledge.

Asad, Talal 1993 *Genealogies of Religion*. London: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Augustine 1992 *Confessions*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Badrillard, Jean 2001 'Symbolic Exchange and Death', in M. Poster (ed) *Jean Baudrillard, Selected Writings*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp. 122-151.

Ball, Michael 1998 'The Visual Availablity of Culture', in J. Prosser (ed) *Image-based Research*, London: Falmer Press, pp. 131-147.

Ball, Stephen 1990 'Self-Doubt and Soft Data', *Qualitative Studies in Education* 3(2): 157-171.

Banks, Marcus 2001 *Visual methods in social research*. London: Sage.

Barnard, Frederick M. 1991 *Pluralism, Socialism, and Political Legitimacy: Reflections on Opening Up Communism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Batalden, Stephen K. and Batalden, Sandra L. 1997 *The newly independent states of Eurasia : handbook of former Soviet republics*. 2nd Edition, Phoenix, Arizona: Oryx.

Bateson, Gregory and Mead, Margaret 1942 *Balinese Character: A Photographic Analysis*. New York: New York Academy of Sciences.

Batson, C. Daniel, Schoenrade, Patricia and Ventis, W. Larry 1993 *Religion and The Individual*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Becker, Howard S. 1974 'Photography and Sociology', *Studies in the Anthropology of Visual Communication* 1(1): 3-26.

Bell, Philip 2001 'Content Analysis of Visual Images' in T. van Leeuwen and C. Jewitt (eds) *Handbook of Visual Analysis*, London: Sage, pp. 10-34.

Berger, P., Berger, B. and Kellner, H. 1974 *The Homeless Mind: Modernization and Consciousness*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Berger, Peter 1961 *The Precarious Vision: A Sociologist Looks at Social Fictions and Christian Faith*. New York: Doubleday.

— 1969 *A Rumor of Angels: Modern Society and the Rediscovery of the Supernatural*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc.

— 1969 *The Social Reality of Religion*. London: Faber and Faber.

— 1980 *The Heretical Imperative*. London: Collins.

Beyer, Peter 1994 *Religion and Globalization*. London: Sage.

Bloome, D. & Green, J. 1997 'Ethnography and ethnographers of and in education: A situated perspective', in S. B. Heath, J. Flood, & D. Lapp (eds.),
Handbook for Research in the Communicative and Visual Arts, New York: Macmillan, pp. 181-202.
Boime, Albert 1998 *The Unveiling of the National Icons*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Bourdeaux, Michael 1995 *The Politics of Religion in Russia and the New States of Euroasia*. London: M. E. Sharpe.
Bugakova, I.V. (ed) 1982 *Art of the Soviet Union*, Moscow: Ministry of Culture of the USSR. [Бугакова, И. В. (ed.) 1982 *Искусство Советского Союза.* Москва: Министерство Културы СССР.]
Bulgakov, Sergius 1988 "Icons and Their Cult" *The Orthodox Church.* Crestwood, NY: St Vladimir's Seminary Press. pp. 139-144.
Carrette, Jeremy and King, Richard 2005 *Selling Spirituality: The silent takeover of religion*. London: Routledge.
Chalfen, Richard 2003 'Celebrating Life after Death: the appearance of snapshots in Japanese pet gravesites', *Visual Studies* 18(2): 144-156.
Clendenin, Daniel B. 1994 *Eastern Orthodox Christianity: A Western Perspective*. Grand Rapids: Baker Books.
Coleridge, Samuel 1953 'The Statesman's Manual', in R. J. White (ed) *Political Tracts of Wordsworth, Coleridge and Shelley*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-53.
— 1997 *Biographia Literaria*. London: Everyman.
Collier, John and Collier, Malcolm 1986 *Visual Anthropology: Photography as a Research Method.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
Derrida, Jacques 1998 'Faith and Knowledge: The two sources of 'religion' at the limits of reason alone', in Derrida and Vattimo (eds) *Religion*, Oxford: Polity Press, pp. 1-78.
Diem-Wille, Gertraud 2001 'A Therapeutic Perspective: the Use of Drawings in Child Psychoanalysis and Social Science', in T. van Leeuwen, C. Jewitt (eds) *Handbook of Visual Analysis*, London: Sage, pp. 119-133.
Dnistrianskyj, Stanislaus 1919 'Ukraina and the Peace Conference', *The Ukrainian Problems*(6): 40-73.
Dunn, J. D. G. 1996 'Spirit', in J. D. Douglas (ed) *New Bible Dictionary*, 3rd Edition, Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, pp. 1125-1129.
During, Simon (ed) 2000 *The Cultural Studies Reader*, 2nd Edition, London: Routledge.
Eck, Diana 1998 *Darshan: Seeing the Divine Image in India*. 3rd Edition, New York: Columbia University Press.
Edwards, Elizabeth (ed.) 1992 *Anthropology and Photography 1860-1920*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
Ellen, R. F. 1984 *Ethnographic research: a guide to general conduct*. London: Academic Press.
Elliot, David 1992 'Engineers of the Human Soul: Paintings of the Stalin Period', in M. Bown and D. Elliot (eds) *Soviet Socialist Realistic Painting: 1930s-1960s*, Oxford: Museum of Modern Art, pp. 5-17.
Elliott, Mark and Deyneka, Anita 1998 'Protestant Missionaries in the Former Soviet Union', *Emory International Law Review* 12(Winter): 361-412.
Elliott, Mark 2001 'The Christian Population of Post-Soviet States', *East-West Church and Ministry Report* 9(3).
— 2002 'How Religious Is Ukraine? Results of Survey Research', *East-West Church and Ministry Report* 10(1).

Ellis, Jane 1986 *The Russian Orthodox Church : a contemporary history*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
Ellul, Jacques 1951 *The Presence of the Kingdom*. London: SCM.
Emmison, Michael and Smith, Philip 2000 *Researching the Visual*. London: Sage.
Farrugia, Edward G. 1996 *Tradition in Transition: The Vitality of the Christian East*. Rome: St Thomas Christian Fellowship.
Featherstone, Mike 1995 Undoing Culture: Globalization, Postmodernism, and Identity. London: Sage.
Fergusson, David 1998 *Community, Liberalism and Christian Ethics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
— 2004 *Church, State and Civil Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Fiddes, Paul 1990 'C. S. Lewis the Myth-Maker', in A. Walker and J. Patrick (eds) *A Christian For All Seasons*, London: Hodder & Stoughton, pp. 132-155.
Florensky, Pavel 2000 *Iconostasis*, Translated by D. Sheehan and O. Andrejev. Crestwood, New York: St Vladimir's Seminary Press.
Gillham, Bill 2000 *Case Study Research Methods*. London: Continuum.
Girling, Evi, Loader, Ian and Sparks, Richard 1998 'A telling tale: a case of vigilantism and its aftermath in an English town', *British Journal of Sociology* 49(3): 474-490.
Glaser, Barney G. and Strauss, Anselm L. 1968 *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: strategies for qualitative research*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.
Gray, Camilla 1969 *The Russian Experiment in Art 1863-1922*. London: Thames and Hudson.
Gudzëiak, Borys 1998 *Crisis and Reform : the Kyivan Metropolitanate, the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the Genesis of the Union of Brest*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
— 2003 'Church Life in Post-Soviet Ukraine' Conference Paper *Challenges of Religious Plurality for Eastern and Central Europe*, Lviv, Ukraine.
Gudzyk, Klara 2001 'Union as a result of Church Crisis', *The Day*(8). http://day.kiev.ua/267260 viewed 22/5/01.
Hammersley, Martyn 1992 *What's wrong with ethnography? : methodological explorations*. London: Routledge.
Hardy, Sir Alister 1975 *The Biology of God: A Scientist's Study of Man the Religious Animal*. London: Butler & Tanner Ltd.
— 1979 *The Spiritual Nature of Man: A Study of Contemporary Religious Experience*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Harper, Douglas 1982 *Good Company*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
— 1988 'Visual Sociology: expanding sociological vision', *The American Sociologist*: 54-70.
— 1998 'An Argument for Visual Sociology', in J. Prosser (ed) *Image-based Research*, London: Falmer Press, pp. 24-41.
— 2002 'Talking about pictures: a case for photo elicitation', *Visual Studies* 17(1): 13-26.
Hay, David 1990 *Religious Experience Today: Studying the Facts*. London: Mowbray.
Hay, David and Hunt, Kate 2000 'Understanding the Spirituality of People who don't go to Church: A Report on the Findings of the Adult Spirituality Project': University of Nottingham.

http://www.ctbi.org.uk/downloads/ccom/documents/0008%20David%20Hay%20Final%20Report.doc viewed on 18/01/05.
Heelas, Paul and Woodhead, Linda 2005 *The Spiritual Revolution: Why Religion is giving way to Spirituality*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
Herbert, David 2003 *Religion and Civil Society: Rethinking Public Religion in the Contemporary World.* Aldershot: Ashgate.
Hervieu-Léger, Danièle 2000 *Religion as a Chain of Memory.* Paris: Polity Press.
Hill, Harriet 1993 'Lifting the Fog on Incarnational Ministry', *Evangelical Missions Quarterly* 29(3): 262-269.
Hingley, C. J. H. 1995 'Spirituality', in D. Atkinson and D. Field (eds) *New Dictionary of Christian Ethics and Pastoral Theology*, Leicester: InterVarsity Press, pp. 807-809.
Hnatenko, Stefania 1989 *Treasures of Early Ukrainian Art: Religious Art of the 16th-18th Centuries*, Translated by M. Skorupsky. New York: Ukrainian Museum.
Hooper, Walter (ed) 1972 *The Letters of C. S. Lewis to Arthur Greeves*. New York: Macmillan.
Horbachova, Iryna 1991 'Ukrainian Art of the 19th - Early 20th century', in O. Marko, M. Shkandrij, O. Tracz, M. Walsh (eds) *Spirit of Ukraine: 500 Years of Painting*, Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, pp. 35-37.
Ionova, Svetlana 2001 'Is Life Getting Better?' *Kyiv Post*, Kyiv, Ukraine.
Ivanova, I. V. and Azizyan I. A. 1976 *Monuments of Eternal Glory*. Moscow: Stroyizdat. [Иванова, И. В. & Азизян, И. А. 1976 *Памятники Вечной Славы.* Москва: Стройиздат.]
James, C. Vaughan 1973 *Soviet Socialist Realism: Origins and Theory*. London: Macmillan.
James, William 1928 *The Varieties of Religious Experience: A Study in Human Nature*. London: Green and Co.
Jenkins, Simon 1998 *Windows into Heaven*. Oxford: Lion.
Kant, Immanuel 1983 'What is Enlightenment?' in T. Humphrey (ed) *Perpetual Peace and Other Essays*, Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company, pp. 41-48.
Kiselyov, Vladimir 1998 'An Assessment of the Religious Situation in Ukraine', *Frontier,* Keston Institute(2): 8-9.
Kleinknecht, H 1992 'pneuma', in G. Kittel and G. Friedrich (eds) *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, pp. 876-879.
Kolodniy, Anatoly 2000 'Traditional Faiths in Ukraine and Missionary Activity', *Religion in Eastern Europe* XX(1). http://www.georgefox.edu/academics/undergrad/departments/soc-swk/ree/kolodniy_tfi_01.html viewed on 16/4/2004.
Konyechna, G. P. 1973 *The Artist and the City*. Moscow: Soviet Artists Publishers. [Конечна, Г. П. 1973 *Художник и Город.* Москва: Советскии Художник.]
Kovalyova, Vera, Goncharenko, Olga and Biloskursky, Orest Spring 2002 'Indifferent Elite or Hope of Society?' *REALIS*: 21-22.
Kraft, Charles 1979 *Christianity in Culture: A Study in Dynamic Biblical Theologizing in Cross-cultural Perspective*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books.
— 1985 'Cultural Anthropology: Its Meaning for Christian Theology', *Theology Today* 41(4): 390-430.
Krawchuk, Andrii 1996 'Religious Life in Ukraine', *Religion in Eastern Europe*: 16-26.

Kung, Hans 1990 'Rediscovering God', in P. Hillyer (ed) *On the Threshold of the Third Millennium, Special Issue of Concilium*, London: SCM Press, pp. 86-102.
Kuzio, Taras 1997 'In Search of Unity and Autocephaly: Ukraine's Orthodox Churches', *Religion, State and Society* 25(4): 393-415.
Lash, Scott 1988 'Discourse or figure? Postmodernism as a 'regime of signification", *Theory, Culture and Society* 5: 311-336.
Lewis, C. S. 1947 *Miracles*. London: Centenary Press.
— 1972 *Surprised by Joy*. London: Fontana Books.
Lewis, Ann and Lindsay, Geoff 2000 *Researching children's perspectives*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
Liber, George O. 1992 *Soviet Nationality Policy, Urban Growth and Identity Change in the Ukrainian SSR 1923-1934*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Lindbeck, George 1984 *The Nature of Doctrine*. London: SPCK.
Lindheim, R. and Luckyj, G. S. N. 1996 *Towards an Intellectual History of Ukraine: an anthology of Ukrainian thought from 1710 to 1995*. Toronto: Published by the University of Toronto Press in association with the Shevchenko Scientific Society, Inc.
Liss, Dana 2002 'Missionaries Find Fertile Ground', *Kyiv Post*.
Lowman, Peter 2000 'Perceptions of a Great Country', *East-West Church and Ministry Report* 8(2).
Luckmann, Thomas 1967 *The Invisible Religion: The Problem of Religion in Modern Society.* London: Macmillan.
MacIntyre, Alasdair 1988 *Whose Justice? Which Rationality?* Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press.
Maffesoli, Michel 1996 *The Time of the Tribes*. London: Sage.
Magocsi, Paul R. 1996 *A History of Ukraine*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
Marynovych, Myroslav 2002 'Religious Freedom in Ukraine: Obstacles and Encouraging Signs', *Ukrainian Weekly* LXX(22). http://www.ukrweekly.com/Archive/2002/220225.shtml viewed 16/4/2004.
McDannell, Colleen 1995 *Material Christianity: Religion and Popular Culture in America*. London: Yale University Press.
McGrath, Alister E. 2002 *The Future of Christianity*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.
McLeod, Hugh 1997 *Religion and the People of Western Europe 1789-1989.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Mellor, Philip and Shilling, Chris 1997 *Re-Forming the Body*. London: Sage.
Milyaeva, Luidmilla 1996 *The Ukrainian Icon. 11th - 18th Centuries. From Byzantine Sources to the Baroque.* Bournemouth: Parkstone Press.
Mirchuk, I. 1949 *Ukraine and Its People*. London: University of Toronto Press.
Mitchell, J. C. 1984 'Producing Data', in R. F. Ellen (ed) *Ethnographic Research: A Guide to General Conduct*, London: Academic Press, pp. 237-241.
Mitrokhin, Nikolai 2001 'Aspects of the Religious Situation in Ukraine', *Religion, State and Society* 29(3): 173-196.
Moody, Adam and Gubin, Oleg 1992 'Paths to permanent Pluralism in the C.I.S.' *Journal of Undergraduate Research, University of Utah* 3(1): 11-17.
Morgan, David 1998 *Visual Piety: A History and Theory of Popular Religious Images*. London: University of California Press.

Morgan, David & Promey, Sally (eds.) 2001 *The Visual Culture of American Religions*. London: University of California Press.
Mussuri, Evgenia 15-11-2001 'Surveys reflect consumer attitudes to ads' *Kyiv Post*, Kyiv, Ukraine, section B, p. 13.
Mykula, W. 1969 *The Gun and the Faith: Religion and Church in Ukraine under the Communist Rule*. London: Ukrainian Information Service.
Nahaylo, Bohdan 1999 *The Ukrainian Resurgence*. London: Hurst & Company.
Naisbitt, John 1982 *Megatrends: Ten New Directions Transforming Our Lives*. New York: Warner Books.
Nedavnya, Olga 2003 'Christian Churches in Modern Ukraine: Call for Religious Pluralism as Freedom of Choice' Conference Paper, *Challenges of Religious Plurality for Eastern and Central Europe*, Lviv, Ukraine.
Nesbitt, Eleanor 2000 'Researching 8 to 13-year-olds' perspectives on their experience of religion', in A. Lewis and G. Lindsay (eds) *Researching Children's Perspectives*, Buckingham: Open University Press, pp. 135-149.
Newbigin, Lesslie 1989 *The Gospel in a Pluralist Society*. London: SPCK.
Oden, Thomas 1992 *Two Worlds: Notes on the Death of Modernity in America and Russia*. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press.
Ogg, Frederic A. 1918 'The Ukraine, A New Nation', *Munsey's Magazine*: 49-56.
Okhotnikov, I.V. 1967 *The Monument on Lenin Square*. Leningrad: Lenizdat Publisher. [Охотников, И. В. 1967 *Памятник на Площади Ленина.* Ленинград: Лениздат.]
Opalski, M. & Kymlicka, W. (eds) 2001 *Can Liberal Pluralism be Exported? Western Political Theory and Ethnic Relations in Eastern Europe*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Ostromenskaya, I. 2000 'Territory of the Poster', *Gallery* (3-4): 26-27. [Остроменская, И. 2000 «Територия плаката», *Галерея*, №3-4, стр. 26-27.]
Otto, Rudolf 1950 *The Idea of the Holy*, Translated by J. W. Harvey. 2nd Edition, London: Oxford University Press.
Paglia, Camille 1990 *Sexual Personae*. London: Yale University Press.
Papaioannou, Kostas 1965 *Byzantine and Russian Painting*. London: Heron Books.
Parry, Ken 1991 'The Role of the Icon in the Eastern Orthodox Tradition', *Sophia* 1: 12-18.
Pawliczko, Ann Lensyk 1994 *Ukraine and Ukrainians throughout the World.* London: Shevchenko Scientific Society, Inc.
Pink, Sarah 2001 *Doing Visual Ethnography: images, media, and representation in research*. London: Sage.
Plate, Brent S. 2002 *Religion, Art and Visual Culture*. New York: Palgrave.
Polischuk, Vasiliy & Alexeyeva, Liya 1980 *To the Men who Liberated Ukraine*. Donetsk. [Полищук, Василии & Алексеева, Лия 1980 *Украина – Освободиелям*. Донецк.]
Polonska-Vasylenko, Natalia 1968 *Two Conceptions of the History of Ukraine and Russia*. London: Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain.
Prosser, Jon 1998 *Image-based Research: a sourcebook for qualitative researchers*. London: Falmer Press.
Prosser, Jon and Dona Schwartz 1998 'Photographs within the Sociological Research Process', in J. Prosser (ed) *Image-based Research*, London: Falmer Press, pp. 115-130.
Proud, Linda 2000 *Icons: A Sacred Art*. Andover: Pitkin Unichrome Ltd.
Quenot, Michel 1996 *The Icon: Window on the Kingdom*. Crestwood, NY: St Vladimir`s Seminary Press.

Ra'anan, U. Armes, K. and Martin, K. (ed) 1992 *Russian Pluralism - Now Irreversible?* New York: St Martin's Press.
Radic, Rodmila 1999 'The Proselytizing Nature of Marxism-Leninism', *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 36(1-2): 80-93.
Reid, Anna 1997 *Borderland: A Journey Through the History of Ukraine*. Guernsey: Guernsey Press Co Ltd.
Rice, Tamara 1963 *A Concise History of Russian Art*. London: Thames and Hudson.
Roof ,Wade Clark 1999 *Spiritual Marketplace*. Oxford: Princeton University Press.
Rose, Gillian 2001 *Visual Methodologies: an introduction to the interpretation of visual materials*. London: Sage.
Rowe, Michael 1994 *Russian Resurrection: Strength in Suffering: A History of Russia's Evangelical Church*. London: Marshall Pickering.
Ruby, Jay 1996 'Visual Anthropology', in D. Levinson and M. Ember (eds) *Encyclopedia of Cultural Anthropology*, Vol. 4, New York: Henary Holt & Co, pp. 1345-1351.
Rudnitsky, Stefan 1915 *The Ukraine and the Ukrainians*. Jersey City: The Ukrainian National Council.
Rudnytsky, Peter I. 1987 *Essays in Modern Ukrainian History by Ivan I. Rudnytsky*. Alberta: Harvard University Press.
Rybarczyk, Edmund J. 2004 'Pentecostalism and Eastern Orthodoxy', *East-West Church and Ministry Report* 12(1).
Sands, Bedwin 1914 'The Ukraine: A lecture delivered on Ukrainian history and present-day political problems', London: Francis Griffiths.
Schwöbel, Christoph 1990 "Particularity, Universality, and the Religions: Toward a Christian Theology of Religions" in Gavin D'Costa (ed.) *Christian Uniqueness Reconsidered.* New York: Orbis Books. pp. 30-46.
Scott, M.C. 2000 'Communicating the Christian Story to a Post-Literate Culture: Lessons to be learnt from Iconography and Advertising' *Theological Education and Youth Ministry*, London: MA Dissertation, Kings College London.
Senyk, Sophia 1993 *A History of the Church in Ukraine*. Vol. 1, Rome: Pontificio Instituto Orientale.
Shuba, Oleksii 1999 *Religion in the Ethnic and National Development of Ukraine*. Kiev: Krynytsia.
Smith, David and Shortt, John 2000 'Spirituality: Not about Religion?' *Journal of Education and Christian Belief* 4(1): 3-6.
Smith, Huston 2001 *Why Religion Matters: The Fate of the Human Spirit in an Age of Disbelief.* San Francisco: Harper-Collins.
Smoley, V. A. 1998 *All About Ukraine*. Kiev: Alternativy Publishers.
St. John of Damascus 2000 *On the Divine Images: Three Apologies Against Those Who Attack the Divine Images*, Translated by D. Anderson. Crestwood, NY: St Vladimir's Seminary Press.
Tacey, David 2003 The Spirituality Revolution: The Emergence of Contemporary Spirituality. London: HarperCollins.
Taylor, Charles 1989 *Sources of the Self.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Taylor, Mark Kline 1985 'What Has Anthropology to Do with Theology?' *Theology Today* 41(4): 379-382.
Todorov, Tzvetan 1988 'Knowledge in Social Anthropology: Distancing and Universality'. *Anthropology Today* 4(2): 2-5.

Turunen, Maija 2005 *Faith in the Heart of Russia: The Religiosity of Post-Soviet University Students*. Helsinki: Kikimora Publications.
Twitchell, James 1996 *Adcult: USA*. New York: Columbia University Press.
Van der Does, Patricia, Edelaar, Sonja, Gooskens, Imke, Liefting, Margreet and van Mierlo, Marije 1992 'Reading Images: A study of a Dutch neighbourhood', *Visual Sociology* 7(1): 4-68.
Van Leeuwen, Theo and Jewitt, Carey (eds) 2001 *Handbook of visual analysis*. London: Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
Vasilyev-Vyazmin, I. 1977 'Lenin's Plan of Monumental Propaganda - A programme of Activity for Soviet Artists' *The Art of Public Squares*. Moscow: Knowledge. [Васильев-Вязьмин, И. 1977 *Искусство Людных Площадей*. Москва: Издательстово «Знание».]
Veith, Gene Edward 1994 *Guide to Contemporary Culture*. Leicester: Crossway Books.
Wagner, Jon 1979 *Images of Information: Still Photography in the Social Sciences*. Beverly Hills: Sage.
Walker, Andrew 1996 *Telling the Story*. London: SPCK.
Wallace, Claire and Kovacheva, Svetlana 1996 'Youth Cultures and Consumption in Eastern and Western Europe. An Overview', *Youth & Society* 28(2): 189-214.
Walzer, Michael 1997 *On Toleration*. London: Yale University Press.
Wanner, Catherine 1998 *Burden of Dreams: History and Identity in Post-Soviet Ukraine*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
— 2003 'Advocating New Moralities: Conversion to Evangelicalism in Ukraine', *Religion, State and Society* 31(3): 273-287.
Ware, Kallistos 1993 *The Orthodox Church*. London: Penguin.
Weber, Max 1962 *Basic Concepts in Sociology*. London: Peter Owen.
Whyte, William Foote 1955 *Street Corner Society: the social structure of an Italian slum*. 2d Edition, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Willis, Paul 1990 *Common Culture: Symbolic Work at Play in the Everyday Cultures of the Young*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
Wilson, Andrews 2000 *The Ukrainians: Unexpected Nation*. London: Yale University Press.
Wolcott, Harry F. 1999 *Ethnography: a way of seeing*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.
Worth, Sol and Adair, John 1972 *Through Navajo Eyes: Explorations in Film Communication and Anthropology*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
Wright, Andrew 2000 *Spirituality and Education*. London: RoutledgeFalmer.
Yakovenko, Borys 2001 'What Caused the Decline and Fall of Rus?' *The Day*(8). http://www.day.kiev.ua/267261 viewed 22/5/01.
Yelenskyi, Viktor 2001 'The Process of Institutional Religion in Ukraine', *Religious Information Service of Ukraine*. http://www.risu.org.ua/eng/religion.and.society/processes.of.religion/ viewed 5/5/04.
Yin, Robert K. 1994 *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. London: Sage.
Yip, Andrew 2003 'The Self as the Basis of Religious Faith', in G. Davie, P. Heelas and L. Woodhead (eds) *Predicting Religion*, Aldershot: Ashgate, pp. 135-145.
Zelska-Darewych, Daria 1991 'The Development of Ukrainian Painting', in O. Marko, M. Shkandrij, O. Tracz, and M. Walsh (eds) *Spirit of Ukraine: 500 Years of Painting*, Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, pp. 13-24.

Ziller, Robert 1990 *Photographing the Self: Methods for Observing Personal Orientations*. Newbury: Sage.
Zizek, Slavoj 2002 *Wecome to the Desert of the Real*. London: Verso.